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THE Ἀπαξ Λεγόμενα OF THE MINOR PROPHETS.¹

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OBADIAH.

Verse 6. מִצְפְּנָיו—τά κεκρυμμένα αὐτοῦ—*abscondita ejus*—his hidden treasures.

Ges.¹⁰ translates "hidden places," Keil agrees with the R. V.

Verse 9. מִקְטֹל—διὰ τὴν σφαγὴν—*propter interfectionem*—by slaughter.

Henderson, following the LXX., connects this with verse 10, which is certainly smoother than to join with verse 9. This word is curiously the only derivative of our paradigm word קָטַל.

Verse 12. נִכְרִי—ἀλλοτρίων—*perigrinationis ejus*—his disaster (*mar.* that he was made a stranger).

The parallelism makes the meaning "his disaster" more suitable. Henderson prefers a rendering similar to the margin of the R. V.

JONAH.

I. 5. סְפִינָה—τοῦ πλοίου—*navis*—ship.

Root סָפַן "cover."

III. 2. הִקְרִיָּא—τὸ κήρυγμα—*praedicationem*—preaching.

VI. 6. קִיקְיֹון—κολοκύνθη—*hederam*—gourd—(*mar.* *Palma Christi*).

The margin is by far the best rendering.

VI. 8. חֲרִישִׁית—συγκαίοντι—*urenti*—sultry.

MICAH.

I. 8. שִׁלָּל—ἀννπόδετος—*spoliatus*—stripped.

The K'thibh is to be preferred.

¹ Continued from the January-April number.

- I. 11. עֲמַדְתּוֹ — πληγὴν ὀδύνης—*quae stetit sibi met*—stay thereof (*mar.* standing place).
- I. 13. רָתַם — ψόφος—*tumultus*—bind.
The LXX. and Vulg. have misunderstood this word, the latter giving a mistaken rendering of the whole clause. The word is a syn. of אָסַר (cf. Exod. XIV. 6).
- II. 3. רוּמָה — ὀρθοὶ ἐξαίφνης—*superbi*—haughtily.
- IV. 7. הִנְחִילָהּ — τὴν ἀπωσμένην—*quae laboraverat*—her that was cast off.
A denom. in Ni. from the adv. הִלָּאָה. The Vulg. may have read נִתְּלָאָה.
- VI. 14. וַיִּשְׁחֶךְ — συσκατάσει—*humiliatio sua*—thy humiliation (*mar.* emptiness).
The LXX. apparently derive the word from חִשֵּׁךְ. Aq. translates καταφυτεύσω “I will plant,” possibly deriving from שׁוּחַ. Sym. ἀναφθερεῖς “perish,” perhaps taking the word from שָׁחַת. The ground meaning of these words is, however, the same, viz., that of “sinking down.”
- VII. 3. וַיַּעֲבְתוּהָ — ἐξελοῦμαι—*conturbaverunt*—thus they weave it together.
The LXX. connect this word with the next verse.
- VII. 4. מִמְּסוּכָה — (ἐπὶ κανόνος ?)—*quasi spina de sepe*—than a thornhedge.
Ges.¹⁰ gives שׁוּךְ “to hedge,” as the verb from which our form is a dialectical variation, cf. Isa. v. 5. The LXX. seem to omit the word altogether.

NAHUM.

- II. 4. מִתְּלַעִים — ἐμπαίζοντας—*in coccineis*—are in scarlet.
A Pu. denominative from תִּלְעָה. The LXX. read מִתְּעַלְלִים (Henderson).
— בָּאֵשׁ פִּלְרַת — αἱ ἡνῖαι—*igneae habenae*—flash with steel (*mar.* are with fire of steel).
The LXX. separate בָּאֵשׁ from our word and join it with the preceding. The meaning “steel” is assured from the Syr. and Arab.
- הִרְעֵלוּ — θορυβηθήσονται—*agitatores consopiti sunt*—shaken terribly.
- II. 8. הָעֶבֶב — ἡ ὑπὸ στασις—(*miles captivus?*)—and Huzzab (*mar.* and it is decreed).
The rendering of the American Revisers, who substitute margin for text, is in my judgment incomparably the best.
- II. 11. בּוֹקָה — ἐκτιναγμός—*dissipata est*—empty.
— מְבוֹקָה — ἀνατιναγμός—*scissa*—void.
Cf. for these two words תָּהוּ וּבָהוּ, Gen. i. 2.
- וּפָק — ὑπόλυσσις—*dissolutio*—and (knees) smite together.
- II. 13. גִּרְתִּיו — σκύμνοις αὐτοῦ—*catulis suis*—his whelps.
גִּרְי occurs in Jer. LI. 38. Elsewhere the forms of this word are from גִּיר.
- III. 2. דָּהָר — δῶκοντος—*frementis*—prancing, cf. דְּהָרוֹת Jud. v. 22.
- III. 17. מִנְזִרֶיךָ — ὁ συμμικτός σου—*custodes tui*—thy crowned ones.
The Vulg. seems to justify Keil’s conjecture that this and the following terms denote military companies.

III. 17. כְּנוֹב—ὡς ἀκρίδες—*quasi locustae*—as the swarms (sc. of locusts).

Cf. גִּבִּי I. c. גִּבִּי Am. VII. 1.

III. 19. כְּהָה—ἰασις—*obscura*—assuaging.

Cf. כְּהָה Lev. XIII. 6f.

HABAKKUK.

I. 4. מַעֲקָל—διεστραμμένον—*perversum*—perverted.

I. 9. מִזְמַת—ἀνθεστηκότας—*facies eorum ventus urens*—their faces are set eagerly (mar. the eagerness (or assembling) of their faces).

Sym. πρόσψις. The Vulg. either omits altogether, or else perhaps translates by "urens." Ges.¹⁰ derives from the root נָמַם "collect together." Hender-son prefers the Vss. which are unanimous (if we except the Vulg.) in a rendering like "aspect."

I. 10. מִשְׁחָק לוֹ—παίγνια—*ridiculi ejus erunt*—a derision unto him.

I. 15, 16. מִכְמַרְתּוֹ—σαγήναις (in v. 16 ἀμφιβλήστρω occurs where we should expect σαγήνη)—*rete suum*—drag.

The root is כָּמַר "hide," cf. מִכְמַרְתּוֹ Is. XIX. 8.

II. 6. עֲבָטִיט—τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ στιβαρῶς—*densum lutum*—pledges.

Cf. עֲבָטִיט Dt. XXIV. 10. There may be a play upon words here, in which case the rendering of the Vulg. is not ungrounded. The word is an especially strong intensive.

II. 11. כִּפְּאִים—κάνθαρος—*lignum quod inter juncturas aedificiorum est*—beam.

Syr. ܟܦܐ; Targ. מִקְבֵּל; Aq. μάζα ("what is baked," "a brick"); Sym., Theod., Quinta σύνδεσμος; Sexta and Septima "Vermis" σκώλαξ; Ges.¹⁰ "cross-beam."

II. 15. מְעוּרֵיהֶם—σπῆλαια αὐτῶν—*nuditatem ejus*—their nakedness.

Aq. γύμνωσιν. The LXX. appear to have read מַעֲרָה.

II. 16. קִקְלֹן—ἀτιμία—*vomitus ignominiae*—foul shame.

Probably a play upon words similar to עֲבָטִיט. The Vulg. treats this also as a compound. It is a strong intensive for קִקְלֹן.

III. 4. חֲבִיזִין—ἀγάπησιν κραταίαν—*abscondita est*—hiding.

III. 6. וַיִּמְדֹּר—ἐσαλεύθη—*mensus est*—measured (mar. shook).

One Greek Vs. reads διεμέτρησε. It is better to take this with the LXX. as Pôlêl of מוֹד i. e. מוֹט, and adopt the margin of the R. V.

III. 10. רוֹם—ὕψος—*altitudo*—on high.

Cf. רוֹמָה Mic. II. 3.

III. 14. פָּרוּן—δυναστῶν—*bellatorum ejus*—his warriors (mar. hordes or villagers).

One Greek Vs. reads τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν. The rendering "ruler," which some still choose, is as old as the LXX., but cf. פָּרוֹת (Ex. XXXVIII. 11; Esth. IX. 19)

"the plain country;" פָּרִי (Deut. III. 5) "dweller in the plain." The "warriors" of the R. V. text seems too strong a word, "hordes" is better.

- III. 14. עֲלִיצְתֶּם—χαλινοῦς ἀντῶν—*exultatio eorum*—their rejoicing.

The root is עֲלִץ “rejoice.”

- III. 17. בְּרִפְתִּים—ἐπὶ φάτναις—in *praeseptibus*—in the stalls.

ZEPHANIAH.

- I. 11. נָטִילִי—οἱ ἐπηρμένον—*involuti*—that were laden.

- II. 9. מִמֶּשֶׁק—Δαμασκός—*siccitas*—a possession.

Cf. מִשָּׁק Gen. xv. 2 where the LXX. read Μασέκ, from מִשָּׁק “possess.”

—וּמִכֶּרֶה—θιμονία—*acervi*—salt pits.

- II. 14. אֲרוֹה—κέδρος—*robus ejus*—the cedar work.

A collective noun.

- III. 4. בְּגֵרוֹת—καταφρονηταί—*infideles*—treacherous.

An abstract use of the Qāl act. part. of בָּגַד.

- III. 10. עֲתָרִי—προσδέξομαι (ἐν διεσπαρμένους μου)—*supplices mei*—my suppliants.

Sym. *supplicatum mihi*.

HAGGAI.

- I. 13. בְּמַלְאֲכֹת—ἐν ἀγγέλοις—*de nunciis*—message.

Another Greek Vs. ἀποστολῶν.

ZECHARIAH.

- I. 7. שִׁבְט—Σαβάτ—*Sabbath*—Shebat.

Assyrian equivalent šabaṭu. Henderson inclines to derive this word from the same root as שִׁבַּט, thus making the name refer to the springing forth of plant life.

- I. 8. שְׂרָקִים—ψαροί [καὶ ποικίλοι]—*varii*—sorrel.

Aq. ξανθοί(?) From an unused root “to be deep red,” Ges.¹⁰

- II. 12. בְּבִבְתָּ—τῆς κόρης—*rupillam*—apple.

Cf. Latin, *pupa*; English, *baby*, Ges.¹⁰

- III. 3, 4. צֹאִים—τά βυπαρά—*sordida*—filthy.

- IV. 2. וְנִלְהָ—τὸ λαμπάδιον—*lampas ejus*—its bowl.

The LXX. would indicate that the proper reading was the fem. נִלְהָ, which appears in iv. 3.

- IV. 7. הָרֵאשִׁיָּה—τῆς κληρονομίας—*primarium*—head (stone).

Aq. πρωτεύοντα; Sym. ἄκρον; Theod., πρῶτον.

- IV. 12. צִנְתָּרוֹת—μυζωτήρων—*rostra*—spouts.

Sym. ἐπιχυτήρων. Perhaps a ת formation from צָנַר, in which a transposition has taken place on account of the sibilant.

- VI. 3, 7. אֲמָצִים—ψαροί—*fortis, robustissimi*—bay (mar. strong).

Aq. κρατεροί, [but Wright, Zechariah and his Prophecies, gives Aq. in verse 7 as πυρροί, and so the R. V. margin; Sym., συνεσφιγμένοι; Theod., ἰσχυροί]. It

seems more natural to take this word from **אָמִין** and translate with the R. V. margin, than to derive it from a root meaning "to be red."

- IX. 8. **מִצְבָּה**—ἀνάστημα—*ex his, qui militant*—against the army (*mar.* as a garrison).

Sym., κωλύων στρατεῖαν. The word is generally taken to be another writing for **צִבָּא** with **מִן**, but I can see no reason against considering it to be another form of **מִצְבָּה** "garrison," 1 Sam. XIV. 12.

- IX. 12. **לְבַצְרוֹן**—ἐν ὀχυρώμασι—*ad munitionem*—stronghold.

From **בָּצַר** "cut off."

- IX. 16. **מִתְנוֹסְסוֹת**—κυλίνονται—*elevabuntur*—lifted up (*mar.* glittering upon).

Ges.¹⁰ takes this from **נסס**, cognate with **נָס** "to vibrate," hence "glitter." "Lift up" is the meaning of a homonymous root in Ps. LX. 6.

- XI. 14. **הָאֶחָוָה**—τὴν κατάσχεσιν—*germanitatem*—brotherhood.

Another Greek Vs. has τὴν διαθήκην. The LXX. probably read **הָאֶחָוָה**.

- XI. 15. **אֱוִלִי**—ἀπείρον—*stulti*—foolish.

Aq., Sym., Theod., ἄφρονος.

- XI. 16. **הַנְּעָר**—τὸ ἐσκορπισμένον—*dispersum*—those that be scattered (*mar.* the young).

Root **נָעַר** "shake." The text of the R. V. is to be preferred to the margin.

- XII. 3. **מַעֲמָסָה**—καταπατούμενον—*oneris*—burdensome.

- XII. 5. **אֲמָצָה**—εὐρήςσομεν—*confortentur*—strength.

Aq., καρτέρεσον. MSS. and Vss. differ much as to the pointing of this word. One MS., according to Baer, reads **אֲמָצָה** Pi. imv., and this Aq. follows, another **אֲמָצָה**, while the LXX. seem to have read **אֲמָצָה** for **אֲמָצָה**, and then to have freely rendered by the plural. But it is better to point as a feminine Segholate equivalent to **אֲמִין** (Job XVII. 9).

- XIV. 6. **וְקַפְאוֹן** [קַפְאוֹן] K^{thibh}—καὶ πάγος—*et gelu*—and gloom (*mar.* following K^{thibh}, shall contract themselves).

Syr. **ܩܦܐܘܢ** (Henderson); Sym., καὶ πάγος.

Wright prefers the K^{thibh} **וְקַפְאוֹן**, but the testimony of the Vss. is strongly in favor of the Q^{ri}. The root is undoubtedly **קָפָא** "to draw together," and the noun (Q^{ri}) probably means "thick darkness."

- XIV. 10. **וְרֵאמָה**—ῥαμὰ δὲ—*et exaltabitur*—and she shall be lifted up.

Aq., Sym., ὑψωθήσε. Some MSS. read **וְרֵאמָה** (cf. **קָאם** Hos. X. 14). It is not necessary to derive this from a root **רָאם** cognate with **רום**. It is probably a different and fuller spelling of the latter.

- XIV. 20. **מִצְלֹת**—τὸν χαλινόν—*frenum*—the bells.

Aq., Theod., βύβθον; Sym., περίπατον σύσκιον. Cf. **בְּמִצְלָה** Zech. I. 8. The root must be **צָלַל** "tinkle." (Cf. **מִצְלֵתִים** "cymbals.")

MALACHI.

- I. 3. לַתְּנוֹת—*εἰς δόματα—in dracones—to the jackals.*
 Aq., *σειρήνες* (Sirens). Sym., Theod., *εἰς ἀνεπίβατα* “unto inaccessible places;”
 Ges.¹⁰ derives from תָּן, of which the masc. plu. תַּנִּים occurs a number of
 times. Henderson prefers to render “habitations” for the sake of the par-
 allelism.
- II. 14. חֲבֵרְתְּךָ—*κοινωνός σου—particeps tua—thy companion.*
 From חָבַר “join together.”
- III. 14. קִדְרָנִית—*ικέται—tristes—mournfully (mar. in mourning apparel).*
 Root קָדַר “be dark, or soiled.”
- III. 21. וְעִסְתֶּם—*καὶ καταπατήσετε—calcabitis—and ye shall tread down.*

A SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHICAL TRACT.

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At the meeting of the American Oriental Society in May, 1887, I read a paper on a manuscript of a Syriac Lexicographical treatise belonging to the Union Theological Seminary in New York.¹ It contains the first two of the treatises published by George Hoffmann in his *Opuscula Nestoriana*.² I had reference to the first of these two treatises, containing a compilation of lexicographical remarks by 'Nānīšō' of Hadhyabh³ and Honein bar Ishāk.⁴ A description of the MS. will be found in the *Proceedings*.

The text of this treatise as published by Hoffmann is notoriously corrupt in many places. This is the fate of most of the Syriac lexicographical MSS. The scribes did not hesitate to add all sorts of notes, culled from various sources; or to cut out those which, for some reason, were objectionable.⁵ Hoffmann's text, in this way, often omits that which gives such treatises as these their peculiar value—the careful Māsoretic notice of the vowel and other diacritical points of a word. As long as the beautiful Syriac Māsora books lie unheeded and unpublished in the libraries of Europe,⁶ these compilations and those of later authors are of considerable value. A larger and more careful recension of this treatise of 'Nānīšō' and Honein seems to have been current at one time, which contained all these Māsoretic statements. Hoffmann's text in many places represents the shorter recension.

Part of the larger recension I found in MS. Sachau, No. 72, belonging to the Berlin Royal Library and published at the end of my edition of the Grammar of Eliā of Sōbhā.⁷ It is interesting to note that the Union Seminary MS. also contains the longer recension. Both these MSS. go back to the same original. Nearly all the additions to Hoffmann's text contained in MS. Sachau 72 are to be found in the Union Seminary MS. Compare with the extracts in Eliā of Sōbhā, pp. 60–67, the variants to Hoffmann, pp. 38, 21; 39, 1, 17, 20, 21; 40, 1, 2, 5; 41, 1, etc., cited below.

Some of the explanations given by Honein have also found their way into the Grammar of Eliā of Tīrhān.⁸ But a part of those mentioned by Eliā are not to be

¹ Proceedings, vol. XIII., p. 134.

² Kiel, 1880.

³ About 660 A. D.

⁴ About 860 A. D.

⁵ See Hoffmann's *Preface*, p. xiv; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxv., p. 494.

⁶ Gottheil, *Zur Textkritik der P'siṭtā*, Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalischen Vereins zu Berlin, No. 2, 1889, p. 22. Nöldeke, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 2d March, 1889, col. 297.

⁷ A treatise on Syriac Grammar, etc., p. 61 seq.

⁸ Baethgen, *Syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias von Tīrhan*. Leipzig, 1880, pp. 43–46.

found in the text as published by Hoffmann. Nöldeke supposed⁹ that they originally belonged in the text, and his supposition is borne out by their occurrence in the Union Seminary MS.¹⁰ This latter text, however, is by no means a good one. It is full of gaps, many of which I do not hesitate to refer to careless and ignorant scribes. The MS. bears every evidence of having been carelessly written.

The note to p. 10, 11 (Hoffmann) is interesting, as it shows that the quotation is taken from Eusebius. Hoffmann¹¹ had already compared Lagarde, *Protermissorum Libri duo*, p. 244 seq.

There is another MS. in Berlin containing texts similar to those in the *Opuscula Nestoriana*,¹² of which I hope to give an account on some other occasion.

Either the writer of some of the additions in the Union Seminary MS., or the author from whose treatise they were taken, must have been an inhabitant of Māḥōzā.¹³ In speaking of a certain grammatical form, he says that "the inhabitants of Māḥōzā do not use it, but the people of Hira do." This is interesting for the dialectology of Syriac. If the lexicographers are to be trusted certain words and certain phrases were used only in certain districts of the Syriac writing and speaking world. It is unfortunate that attention has not been directed to these interesting differences. Since Larsow published his excellent little treatise in 1841,¹⁴ with the exception of an article by Duval,¹⁵ nothing has been done in this direction. We shall probably know more about this subject when Duval brings out his promised edition of Bar Bahlūl. For the present, I jot down, from notes made without any view to publication, the names of the places or regions not mentioned by Larsow in which the grammarians and lexicographers note some peculiarity.¹⁶

Gazīra.....Payne Smith, cols. 26 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ ; 1185 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ ; 1544 s. v. ܓܙܝܪܐ cf. col. 701.

Babylonians..Payne Smith, col. 701 s. v. ܒܒܝܠܝܐ

Beth Garmai. Payne Smith, cols. 1137 s. v. ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝܐ ; 136 s. v. ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝܐ

Maišān.....Payne Smith, col. 1414 s. v. ܡܝܫܢܐ ; cf. col. 2098 s. v. ܡܝܫܢܐ¹⁷

Lebanon.....Payne Smith, col. 2208 s. v. ܠܒܢܢܐ [= Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, grammar, I., p. 54,26].

⁹ ZDMG, xxxv., p. 494.

¹⁰ The explanations given in Baethgen, pp. 44, 11, 16; 55, 6, are found again in our MS. Cf. also Baethgen, p. 46, 11 with the variants to Hoffmann, p. 38, 22-39, 1, and Nöldeke, *loc cit.*

¹¹ p. xiv.

¹² Sachau, No. 130, See *Kurzes Verzeichniss*, p. 12.

¹³ Proceedings, p. 185.

¹⁴ *De dialectorum linguae Syriacae reliquiis scriptis* Dr. F. Larsow, Berlin, 1841.

¹⁵ *Sur la contrefé araméenne, appelée pays supérieur, etc.* Journal Asiatique, Feb.-Mareh, 1884.

¹⁶ A full collection of the words cited by Bar 'Alī and Bar Bahlūl from the Mathlā dhārāmāyē, which Löw has shown (ZDMG, xxxi., p. 535 seq.) not to be identical with our *Kalīlag and Damnaḡ*, would also be interesting. To those mentioned by Löw (*loc cit.*) add Payne Smith, 1671, s. v. kebhtā; 325, s. v. estōkā; 2690, s. v. s^{ar} sephthā; 2043, s. v. mūsardā; 2691, s. v. sa'rā sūmakā, where "dhārāmāyē" must be added; 1716, s. v. kūšū; 2641, s. v. salwā.

¹⁷ Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 27. Lowe, *The Fragment of Talmud Babli P^esachim*, p. 8.

- Tekrit.....Payne Smith, cols. 1519 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1443 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1490 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 940 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 242 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ
- Samosata.....Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, grammar, I., p. 65,18.
- Harrān.....Payne Smith, cols. 755 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 2711 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ
- Palestine.....Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, *loc. cit.* I., pp. 31,10; 206,23.¹⁸
- Mosul.....Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 262 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ¹⁹; Payne Smith, col. 2405 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 7,15.
- Edessa.....Payne Smith, cols. 1059 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ²⁰; cf. *ibid.*, col. 917 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ [√δηρόσιος (?)]. Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, I., pp. 1,19; 151,25; 155,2.
- Nisibis.....Löw, *Aram. Pflanz.*, p. 290; Bar 'Ebhṛāyā, I., pp. 1,19; 151,25; 155,2.
- Tirhān.....Payne Smith, cols. 2234 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 2054 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ²¹; 1830 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 519 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ²²; 1295 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 917 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1835 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1671 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1342 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 1509 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 785 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ
- Melitene.....Payne Smith, col. 2454 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ
- Kaddēšāyē....Payne Smith, col. 1532 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ
- Daḳūḳ²³.....Payne Smith, cols. 433 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ; 450 s. v. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ

2. 1. The title reads ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | Lines 5-19 wanting | 19. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ which follows after 4, 21 | 20. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ + ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | 21. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ + ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | 22. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | 23. From ܬܝܬܪܝܬ to ܬܝܬܪܝܬ 3, 1 omitted.

3. 1. From ܬܝܬܪܝܬ to ܬܝܬܪܝܬ omitted | 2. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | 3. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ | 5. ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ܬܝܬܪܝܬ : ܬܝܬܪܝܬ ܬܝܬܪܝܬ : ܬܝܬܪܝܬ + ܬܝܬܪܝܬ

¹⁸ p. 73,25 is hardly in point. Cf. "Elia of Söbhā" text, p. 11,19, note 31 and additions to the same.

¹⁹ ZDMG xxxvii. 617.

²⁰ Larsow, *loc. cit.* p. 26.

²¹ With ܬܝܬܪܝܬ cf. Yalkūt Šim'ōnī, § 175; with ܬܝܬܪܝܬ cf. Exodus Rabbā, *ad loc.*; Leviticus Rabbā, 2b, col. a, l. 1 of the Wilna ed.; Yalkūt, § 176; Budge, *The Bee*, p. 48; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 41. The name Ra'usa, given by Bar Bahlūl, *loc. cit.*, is curious. It occurs in Castellus, p. 872, as ܬܝܬܪܝܬ.

²² Where it is interesting to note the expression "s'wādhā dhilan;" cf. col. 2617 s. v. "s'isānā," but see also 608 s. v. "b'rōthā."

²³ Yalkūt, II., 581.

אִם וְעִזְיָה חֶמְדָּה יִדְבָּרְךָ . אִם וְיִדְבָּרְךָ חֶמְדָּה , חֶמְדָּתְךָ וְאַחַד בְּחֶמְדָּה .
 מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה , + [אֶחָד] 6. | אֶחָד אֶחָד לְךָ וְאַחַד חֶמְדָּה .
 + [וְאַחַד] 9. | אֶחָד ' | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה , 8. | וְחֶמְדָּה . אִם + בְּבִינָה בְּחֶמְדָּה יִדְבָּרְךָ
 | אֶחָד בְּחֶמְדָּה חֶמְדָּה מִבְּחֶמְדָּה . אֶחָד בְּחֶמְדָּה מִבְּחֶמְדָּה חֶמְדָּה אֶחָד , סוף 12 *
 חֶמְדָּה וְחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד + [וְחֶמְדָּה] 10. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה + [אֶחָד]
 | סוף מִבְּחֶמְדָּה חֶמְדָּה , [חֶמְדָּה מִבְּחֶמְדָּה] | חֶמְדָּה מִבְּחֶמְדָּה , אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה חֶמְדָּה *
 11. | 19/20. l. 15 omitted. | Up to חֶמְדָּה 12. | אֶחָד אֶחָד אֶחָד + [חֶמְדָּה] 11.
 21. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | vid. variant to 10,6. ' | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה
 חֶמְדָּה מִבְּחֶמְדָּה סוף מִבְּחֶמְדָּה 22. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה

4. 1. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 2. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 3. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה
 אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה : אֶחָד + [אֶחָד] 8. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 7. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה + [אֶחָד] | אֶחָד
 [אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד] | אֶחָד | 9. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 8/9. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | אֶחָד .
 13. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד * + [אֶחָד] 11. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה
 אֶחָד | 15. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד + [אֶחָד] | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד * [אֶחָד]
 אֶחָד + [אֶחָד] | אֶחָד | 18. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 17. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | 16. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה
 19/20. From אֶחָד to | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה חֶמְדָּה : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה .
 omitted. | 21. | From אֶחָד to 8,21, omitted.

8. 22. | אֶחָד | From אֶחָד to אֶחָד 9,6 omitted.

9. | אֶחָד : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה + [אֶחָד] 8. | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה + [אֶחָד] 7.
 + [אֶחָד] | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה | אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה
 אֶחָד : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה . אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה : אֶחָד מִבְּחֶמְדָּה

19. אִם הָיָה + [עֲמִי] | > [סָרָה] וְשָׂרָה | אִם הָיָה וְאִם וְכִי אֶבְרָהָם + [חֲדָשׁ] 19.
 From l. 20 to p. 16,6
 omitted.

16. 8. > [חֲמִשָּׁה] 13. | > [סָרָה] 12. | 11. > [חֲמִשָּׁה] 8. 16.
 | > [סָרָה] 16. | > [סָרָה] 14. | > [סָרָה] 14. | אִם הָיָה וְכִי אֶבְרָהָם + [חֲדָשׁ] 16.
 23. | > [חֲמִשָּׁה] 23. | > [חֲמִשָּׁה] 21. | אִם הָיָה וְכִי אֶבְרָהָם + [חֲדָשׁ] 19. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 18.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 18.

17. 1. From [חֲדָשׁ] to [חֲדָשׁ] l. 5, omitted. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 7. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 5.
 + [חֲדָשׁ] 5, then as in l. 2 up to [חֲדָשׁ] 5, then as in l. 2 up to [חֲדָשׁ] 5.
 1. 3. | 7. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 8. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 10. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 10. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 10. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 10.
 11. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 11. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 11. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 11. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 11.
 From [חֲדָשׁ] to [חֲדָשׁ] l. 12, omitted. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 12. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 12.
 13. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 13. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 13. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 13. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 13.
 which is crossed out, and then in a different hand is written [חֲדָשׁ] 13.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 16. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 16. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 16. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 16.
 16/17. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 17. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 17. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 17. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 17.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 22. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 22. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 22. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 22.

18. 2. from [חֲדָשׁ] to [חֲדָשׁ] wanting | 3. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4.
 | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4. | > [חֲדָשׁ] 4.

. ܐܠܒܝܬܐ ܡܨܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 8. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ twice. | 9. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | From ܡܨܬܬܒܝܬܐ to ܡܨܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 1. 12, omitted. | 12. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 14. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 14. From ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ to ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 1. 16, omitted. | 17. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 18. | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 17. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 20. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 19. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 21. | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ .
 From ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ to ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . > there then follows ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ 25,1, omitted. |

ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ 8. | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 6. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 5. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 11. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 11. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 10. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 20. | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 17. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 16. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : + ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 13.
 ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 23. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ : ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ

26. 1. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 2. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 4. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ +
 ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 12. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 9. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 . ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 15. From ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ to ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ 29,9, omitted. |

29. 10. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 12. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 13. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ |
 15. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 22. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 21. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ | 23. ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ
 > ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܝܬܐ .

CORRECTIONS TO THE TEXT OF THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II.

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The historical inscriptions that have been found of Shalmaneser II., or more properly Šulmanašarid,¹ may be divided, for the sake of convenience, like those of Tiglathpileser II., Esarhaddon, Sargon, and others of the Assyrian kings,² into two classes, (1) annals proper, and (2) "glorification" inscriptions ("Prunkinschriften"). To the first class belong (a) the so-called black obelisk found at Koujundschik, (b) the two inscriptions on the two bulls from the central palace of Koujundschik, and (c) the fragment of which we have only the squeeze made by George Smith.³ To the second, (a) the monolith of Kurkh, (b) the inscriptions on the bronze gates of Balawat, (c) the inscription on the pedestal of the statue found at Kileh-shergat, to which we might add as a subdivision of the second class, the shorter inscriptions on bricks.⁴

Of these inscriptions, the first rank must be accorded to the black obelisk, and for the reason that it covers a greater period of Shalmaneser's reign than any other. Whereas the bull inscriptions mention nothing later than the 18th year, the monolith closes with the 6th year, and the Balawat breaks off with the 9th year, the obelisk summarizes the events to the end of the 31st year, bringing us to within three years of the king's death.

It is clear, then, that for a study of the reign of Shalmaneser II. the black obelisk must form the starting-point, and that, in direct connection with it, the other inscriptions may best be studied, grouping themselves around it as so many additional fragmentary manuscripts would around the more complete one which we hit upon for a fundamental text. In view of this it is of even more than ordinary importance to have a text of this inscription that may be correct in

¹ On the name though not of this particular Shalmaneser, see Schrader, *Zeits. fuer Keils.*, II., pp. 197-204.

² For this division, which it must be borne in mind is only drawn for the sake of convenience, and has reference more to the manner and the order in which events are told, and not to the contents of the inscriptions, see Schrader, *Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglathpileser's*, II., etc., p. 13 sqq.

³ Published III R., 5, No. 6. Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 73, speaks of duplicates of Shalmaneser inscriptions that he discovered at Nimroud, but does not say of what inscriptions. Those mentioned by him on p. 252 would belong to the second class.

⁴ Two such bricks have been published by Layard (*Inscriptions*, pl. 77 B and 78 B). Smith, *Assyr. Discov.*, p. 79, mentions others that he came across. For the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., in general, consult Bezold, *Babyl.-Assyr. Literatur*, pp. 73-76.

every particular; but whether for the reason that too much of our interest in the handsome monument has been absorbed by the interesting illustrations on it, or for some other reason, the text of the monument has not received that attention which it deserves. There has been no edition of it since Layard's publication⁵ in 1851, and it is not surprising to find that Mr. Layard should, at that early date, have mistaken quite a number of signs, despite the general clearness of the characters, and that in addition, a goodly number of other errors should have crept into the work. It must be remembered that when Mr. Layard copied the text, it had not yet been translated, and that many distinctions between characters which are to-day quite elementary, were at that time unknown to the eminent pioneers in the laborious study. Those who have since then studied the inscription, like Oppert,⁶ Menant,⁷ Sayce,⁸ and Schrader,⁹ corrected some of the errors in Layard's text, but by no means all.

Recently a transliteration and translation has been published by the indefatigable and brilliant young scholar, Dr. Hugo Winckler;¹⁰ but while his translation marks in general a decided advance upon that of his predecessors, the same praise cannot be accorded to his text. In the preface to the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, it is stated that new collations with the originals were made when found necessary and when possible. If Dr. Winckler consulted the original monument in the British Museum, it does not appear that he did so with the necessary care, for his transliteration contains a large number of inaccuracies. While he has removed many of Layard's errors, he has allowed almost an equal number to remain, among these some that had already been noted by his predecessors, and what is particularly to be regretted, he has added new ones of his own. True, in most cases, these errors are slight, and yet there is no reason why they should have been committed by a person of the excellent scholarship of Dr. Winckler. No doubt it was only undue haste in preparing his work that led him to overlook the points to which in the following pages I call attention.

Under these circumstances, however, it did not seem to me a superfluous task, as a preliminary to a comparative study of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, to make a renewed careful investigation of the text of the obelisk. I have used for this

⁵ *Inscriptions in the cuneiform character*, pl. 87-98.

⁶ *Expedition en Mesopot.*, I., 342; also *Histoire des Emp. de Chald. and d'Assyrie*. I desire to add that to my regret Oppert's translation is inaccessible to me, so that I could not make use of it in my study of the text.

⁷ *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie*, pp. 97-105.

⁸ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., pp. 27-42, Rawlinson's tentative translation made in 1850, though remarkable at the time, is naturally of little use to-day.

⁹ In his *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Schrader incidentally translates a considerable portion of the inscription and adds his comments upon it, as follows:

Line 60 = page 229.	Lines 92, 93 = page 129.	Lines 102, 103 = page 6.
" 90, 91 = " 275.	" 97-99 = " 6.	" 126-141 = " 239 sqq.
" 141, 142 = " 131 sqq.	" 159-174 = " 164 sqq.	" 175-190 = " 167 sqq.

See also pp. 5, 96, 139, 151, 162, 169, 176, 229, 239, 323.

¹⁰ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. I., pp. 128-150:

purpose an excellent cast in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, the photographs published by the British Museum, and lastly the parallels in the other inscriptions of this king wherever such existed. In this way, I have succeeded in obtaining what may be called a perfect text, in all but a few places. My corrections to Layard's text aim to be complete, and in view of the fact that Winckler's transliteration will probably be much consulted in the future by scholars, I have thought it both useful and proper to indicate at the same time wherein he has deviated from these readings of the original, and I have also referred to some renderings of his with which I do not agree.

In a succeeding number of *HEBRAICA*, I hope to add a commentary to such portions of the text as require it, explaining so far as I may be able the still doubtful words and passages. In this number I am concerned almost exclusively with textual criticism. After finishing with the commentary, I intend to give the results of a comparative study of the Shalmaneser inscriptions, with a view chiefly of determining in how far the *data* furnished by them agree among themselves and to what extent they may be regarded as trustworthy.

I have not thought it necessary to give a complete transliteration, which, after Winckler's recent publication, would only be useful in connection with a new edition of the text itself, and I content myself with simply noting line for line the corrections to be made to Layard's edition.

Line 5.—The gap at the beginning of the line is not satisfactorily filled out by the insertion merely of the determinative for deity and the two horizontal wedges which complete the sign E. There is certainly room for two signs in addition, a fact which is not indicated in Layard's text, and appears to have been overlooked by Winckler also. Lyon's¹¹ conjecture of *kala-ma* is not only justified by the measurements, but is in every way acceptable. The third and fourth signs from the end are of course one, viz. *šim*.

6.—Supply ^{11u} *Sin* at the beginning. See *Tigl. Pil. I. col. i. 5*, where precisely the same epithets are applied to the moon-god.

7.—There can of course be no doubt that the deity at the beginning of this line is *Ramman*, as Sayce, Menant, and Lyon already have it. *Sargon cyl. 67*, *Ramman* is called *mu-rim ḥegalli*.

9.—The title *abkallu ilani* is given to *Ašur*, *Bel*, *Nebo*, and *Adar* (cf. *Delitzsch, Assy. Dic.*, s. v., for references), as well as to *Marduk*. *Ašur*, *Bel*, and *Adar* being already mentioned elsewhere, and *Nebo* being here represented by *Nusku*,¹² as the title given to the latter, *naši ḥatti elliti*, clearly shows, there can be no doubt, apart from other considerations, that we must supply *Marduk*. The vertical wedge still to be seen adds positiveness to what was already certain. Why Winckler should have hesitated to supply the name of the

¹¹ *Assyr. Manual*, p. 7, 3.

¹² For the confusion of the two see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 118, 119.

missing deity in this line, and also the one in line 7, while not hesitating in the case of Ea and Sin, is not clear. The expression Bel te-re-e-ti will be treated in the commentary. See K. 2854, (Strassm., A. V., No. 8968, *ZA.* I., 69) where Marduk is spoken of as muštešir terit A-num. The sign in Layard at the end of the line must be divided. The first part is kar and the traces of rad after it are distinct.

11.—Read [git]-ma-lu. There is not as much room at the beginning as Layard represents.

12.—The second and third signs are of course to be joined to one.

13.—At the beginning read rabuti.

14.—Supply ilani at the beginning.

15.—There is room for the male determinative at the beginning, but for nothing more.

19.—Read nab instead of ab.

24.—Insert ina before šadniribe. Salm. Mon. in the parallel passage, col. i. 15, also has ina. Omitted by Winckler.

28.—Read u-lil. Winckler's translation misses the point. See Thiele, *Gesch.*, p. 188, ll. 2, 3.

29.—Insert šad-e after an'a, again overlooked by Winckler, who follows Layard. Would it not be preferable to take the determinative after ana šade for mat, and not as Delitzsch (*Par.*, p. 103) does, and also Lyon, for šad, Haman being then the name given to the district as well as to the mountain? The same remark would of course apply to the parallel passage, Salm. Mon. i. 50; also ii. 10, and some other places. Cf. Thiele (*Gesch.*, p. 243), who speaks of the "country" of Hamman.

30.—Join signs 9 and 10.

32.—Read sa instead of ir.

34.—Winckler omits the determinative for city before birtu.

35.—The stone has here and line 166 the sign UT, but line 113 ZAB. It is not absolutely necessary to suppose a clerical error in the two former passages, since both signs, by virtue of their descent from a common original picture (see Houghton, *TSBA.* vi. p. 469; Hilprecht, *Freibrief*, p. vii; Amiaud & Mechineau, *Tableau Comparé*, etc., No. 213) may have the value lah, which is required here. Still, in view of the fact that elsewhere in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser we find invariably the latter sign (Mon. II. 21, 49, 68; Bull Lay. 46,2), it is more than probable that the scribe intended the same sign throughout. In no case, however, is there any warrant for Winckler's reading ip-par-šid, no such sign as šid appearing on the original.

36.—Read sa instead of ir.

37.—The fifth sign has a rather peculiar shape; but there is no doubt of its being ni. It looks as though the scribe had started to write a false sign,

possibly šar, and then changed it rather clumsily. Read in dašir (not in tašir, as Winckler does), in accordance with Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § pp. 48-49.

38.—Winckler omits the determinative for city at the beginning of the line. There does not appear to be anything missing at the end of the line.

39.—Read sa instead of ir. The ni, as Winckler correctly surmises, can only be an error of the copyist, who mistook the signs L U M E Š for šarrani. Menant, *Annales*, p. 98, has already noticed the mistake; but Sayce, *RP.*, v. p. 31, overlooks it; and renders erroneously "kings."

40.—There is a space on the stone after pi-it; but there is nothing wanting.

41.—Winckler has overlooked that there is room at the end of the line for another sign, and it is certain that we must read ta-ia-ar-ti-ia, as we find constantly in this and the other inscriptions of Shalmaneser. Cf. ll. 130, 140, etc.

45.—Read zi for gi. At the end of the line supply Su-[uḥ-mi], in accordance with the parallel passage, Mon. II. 45, 46. So already Schrader, *KGF.*, p. 143, note, suggests. Winckler, following apparently Lay. 12, 19, reads Su-uḥ-ni; but the preference I think must be given to the Monolith, where Suḥmi occurs no less than three times. I am inclined to suspect some error in the text of the bull inscription. The ni may easily have been superinduced by the re-occurrence of the character in the proper name immediately preceding. If the latter is also to be read Suḥ-ni, which I should also like to question, pending a re-examination of the stone, it is almost certain that the two places cannot be identical, since no rational explanation can be given why a scribe should write the same name in two entirely different ways in the very same line. If therefore we settle upon Suḥni for the first name, the second is, without much question, Su-uḥ-mi. That there should be two distinct countries, or rather provinces, yet differing so slightly in name as Suḥmi and Suḥni, need not arouse any suspicion. Compare Partakka and Partukka, two cities of Media mentioned side by side in Esarhaddon Cyl. A, iv. 19, 20, and C, iv. 4 (according to Harper's text, *HEBRAICA*, IV. p. 22).

44.—The third and fourth signs from the end must be brought closer together. Notice the variants ḥu-ub and ḥu-bu, Balawat II. 3. See also Mon. I. 20, etc.; Ob. 161, 162.

45.—The curious blunder of the scribe in this line, in writing Dânašur, whereas the eponym for the year was Ašurbânusur, was first pointed out by George Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 192. See also Schrader, *KGF.*, pp. 45, 323 seq. It is to be noted that this is the only mention of an eponym in the obelisk, and the question suggests itself whether it was not the intention of the scribe to single out the eponym of Dânašur for special mention, with the view of adding to the glory of Shalmaneser's favorite general, who is spoken of so frequently in the inscription (ll. 141, 149, 159, 175). His blunder would then consist, not in

writing Dânašur, as Smith, Schrader, and Winckler assume, but in putting him in the wrong place, in the fourth pali instead of in the sixth. Under this supposition the exceptional mention of an eponym, whereas all the other events are dated by the years of the king's reign, would find a natural explanation, and one that throws an interesting light upon the commanding position held by Dânašur.

46.—At the end of the line read Ši-tam-[rat]. The traces of rat are distinctly to be seen; but even if that were not the case, the two parallel passages Mon. II. 69, 70, Ši-i-ta-am-rat, and Bal. III. 3, Ši-ta-am-rat, place the reading beyond any doubt. Winckler's reading here, ši-tam-gi, can only be accounted for on the ground of undue haste. He takes the word for a common noun, and naturally can find no translation for it, overlooking the fact that, in the Monolith inscription, the word is preceded in both places by the determinative šad, and in the Balawat inscription, indeed, by the determinative for the city. The latter is probably a clerical error for šad;¹³ but this only makes the fact that Šitamrat is the name of a mountain peak all the more certain. Neither Menant nor Sayce appear to have recognized this. Winckler has carelessly omitted a bal Adini in this line.

47.—Insert šad after uban, which is to be seen very clearly on the stone. Winckler's brackets around the word are therefore superfluous. At the end of the line complete u-[ba-an]. The na in Layard is erroneous. Cf. l. 117.

49.—The last sign on this line is, of course, ki.

52.—Winckler has accidentally omitted a-na šad after ina V pale-ia.

53.—The third sign is te not la. There is considerable variation on the obelisk in the formation of slanting and horizontal wedges, and it is at times only possible to decide from the context whether we have the sign te or la, giš or u d, and so with some others.

59.—Supply kali at the beginning.

60.—Šār at the beginning. There is only room for such a sign as NIŠ, not for any longer ideogram.

61.—At end of line miš for ta.

63.—Supply [a]-na at beginning. Read bel-ia at end of line.

64.—There is nothing wanting at the beginning of the line. Separate the 6th and 7th signs.

65.—Nor is anything missing at the beginning of this line.

66.—Correct Winckler's reading šabu to šabe.

67.—Read Ha[bi-in] in accordance with the parallel passage, Layard, 46, 9. Any further doubt as to the correctness of this reading is removed by the passage in the Aurn. inscription I R. 24, col. III. 55, where this same chief of Tilabnâ is spoken of. The sign ni is quite clearly to be distinguished, but

¹³ See, however, Del., *Par.*, p. 264.

of bi only one horizontal wedge remains. Menant and Sayce have already filled out the gap correctly. At the end of the line read a-[lik] in accordance with the faint traces and the parallels, Bull, Layard, 46, 9, and 14, 20.

69.—Read a-šar and separate the a from the preceding character.

71.—Supply kat at end of line.

72.—Read kir-bi-ša.

72.—The wedges of the sign kar are rather more slanting than they appear in Layard.

74.—Read sa for ir and correct la into te.

75.—Layard fails to indicate that there is a small space at the beginning of the line. Nor has Winckler taken notice of the fact. It is quite certain that we must fill it out by inserting the matu which we find in the parallel passage, Balawat IV., 1. This disposes of Delitzsch's remarks, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 223.

78.—Read sa for ir.

80.—Same.

81.—The traces of a sign which may very well be the bel demanded by the context are to be seen. Separate 9th and 10th signs.

82.—The second syllable of Bar-sip has the form usual to the sign and not the somewhat queer one given by Layard.

83.—The cast shows a break at the beginning of the line, but from Layard it does not appear that such was the case on the original at the time he copied it. The reading is correct.

85.—Read sa for ir.

87.—The words ša mat Hatti given by Layard at the end of the line and adopted by all of his followers, including Winckler, do not appear on the stone, nor is there room for them, nor do the parallels, Bull, Layard, 15, 35 and 46, 22, make mention of the Hatti country at this point.

88.—The scribe has omitted the sign ta of the word attarad.

99.—Winckler's suggestion to add itti šunu before amdahhis, as we constantly find it (e. g. l. 64) is good. The parallel, Layard, 17, 25, also has it.

94.—The scribe has erroneously written the sign ZAB instead of UT in the composition of the name Marduk. Layard either quietly corrected this or overlooked it. The two signs following Marduk must be joined together and are to be read Mudammik.¹⁴ The second part of the sign is ZAB as usual and not UT, as given by Layard. The latter has also accidentally repeated the signs šu-zu in this line.

96.—The bull inscription (Layard, 13, 12) as well as the fragment of the annals, III R. 5, No. 6, 1, declare in accord with our text that in his 18th year Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates for the 16th time, so that it is hardly

¹⁴ Winckler reads u dammik.

possible to suppose a slip on the part of the scribe. The number, however, does not seem to be right. Assuming that the king includes in the "crossings" his journey to the sources of the Euphrates in his 15th year, we would still have only thirteen crossings up to the 18th year. Unless, therefore, we assume that the account of two additional expeditions across the Euphrates has been omitted, we must stamp the assertion of the scribe as an intentional exaggeration. So in l. 99, the number 18 (not 19 as Winckler erroneously states) must be judged in the same way. But, on the other hand, the numbers 20, 21 and 22 in ll. 100, 102, 104 respectively, are to be explained in the way suggested by Theile, *Gesch.*, p. 202, as arising from a confusion with the figures referring to the reign of the king.

99.—Winckler erroneously XIX ša n i t u for X V I I I.

101.—The sixth sign is ka, written in the regular way.

102.—Correct the number XI to X X I.

104.—Both numbers in this line are clearly X X I I on the stone, not 12 or 21 as Layard copies, nor 22 and 21 as Winckler, correcting only one of Layard's errors, states. Menant and Sayce have the correct numbers.

106.—It looks as though there had been an erasure at the end of the line, but I am strongly inclined to believe that there is nothing at all missing now after tu. There is certainly not so large a gap as Winckler supposes. This practically disposes of the latter's conjecture that Tu is the first part of a proper name, that of the mountain where the metals mentioned in the following are to be obtained. Sayce (*RP.*, V., 185) translates "to conquer the mines of silver," etc., and evidently reads Ki š i t - t u. Despite the irregularity in the final syllable, this reading is the most acceptable one that has been proposed.

107.—Read X X I I I for X I I I.

108.—I do not know why Winckler changes the reading of the stone U - e - t a - a š to g a - ê - t a - a š. There appears to be no warrant whatsoever for this.

113.—See note to l. 35. Read i p - l a ḥ not i p - l u ḥ as Winckler invariably does. Peiser in his translation of the monolith of Shalmaneser (*Keilins. Bibl.*, 150-174) transliterates correctly i p - l a ḥ. Cf. the variant i p - l a - ḥ u Salm. Mon. I. 21; II. 76 and 79. So also Asum. Mon. III R. 6, Rev. 16, 30.

114.—The stone has clearly l a and not a t, so that the name of the city is Si - ḥ i - š a - l a ḥ.¹⁵ The 5th and 6th signs from the end are to be joined.

116.—The 2d and 3d signs from the end are to be joined.

118.—Read si instead of ḱ u r. The scribe has erroneously written a k (as given by Layard) instead of k u. Winckler corrects ā d u k u.

119.—The 2d and 3d signs must be separated.


¹⁵ The final syllables š a l a ḥ remind us of the š e l a ḥ in such names מְשֹׁלָח (Gen. 5:21).

121.—The first sign is quite certainly pi and not te as Layard, whom Winckler follows, has it. The third sign is si, and the whole word is to be read pi-is-si. For the meaning, see the commentary.

122.—In the name of the second city mentioned in this line, the first sign is without much doubt tar, the second is not at all clear on the cast, but za, as Layard reads, is the most likely. The third city is E-sa-mul. As so often, Layard has erroneously copied ir for sa and failed to join the two following signs. In further explanation, it ought to be said that it is not always easy to determine (except by the context) whether two signs belong together or not, the scribe exercising considerable freedom in leaving a greater or smaller space between the several parts of a compound sign.

124.—Winckler has omitted ni after alu MEŠ.

125.—The determinative mat before Harhara is a slip of Layard's. The original has the determinative for city, as Delitzsch, *Par.*, p. 233, already suspects. Sargon Annals, l. 70, and Salle, XIV. 7 (Winckler's edition, p. 81), Ha-ar-ḥa-ra-ai and Har-ḥar also appear with the determinative for city. Winckler again copies Layard's error.

125.—I question whether we are justified in attributing the value az, as Winckler wishes to have done, to the sign which, so far as I know, has only the value aš. It seems to me that ašḫup bears the same relation to the ordinary azḫup, that išpuna, which occurs on the obelisk, l. 21, and ašpun, l. 158, do to the regular ispunu and aspun, and that asarap (with a ) in ll. 158 and 189 does to the regular ašarap, though this form may stand for aštarap. Such variations are exceedingly instructive and ought not to be rashly disposed of by proposing new readings for signs. Winckler reads both ŠAG A and ŠAG U (e. g. l. 118) as bušu. This is certainly not correct, since the two are very often found side by side.

129.—Layard commits two slips in this line. The stone reads tidukišu (not šunu) and šallasu (not sunu). Winckler once more repeats Layard's very pardonable oversights. For the form asala see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 269.

130.—Winckler could not have consulted the original or he would have seen that the sign before the last is gu. This A-gu-si is the same that occurs Mon. II., 27, where the name is written agu-usi, and he is no doubt identical with the Gu-si of Mon. II., 12 and 82, which is probably an error on the part of the scribe for A-gu-si. See Schrader, *KGF.*, p. 207.

133.—The seventh sign from the end is not altogether clear on the stone, but I feel quite certain that it is li and not ka. The proper name accordingly is Tu-ul-li.

135.—The third sign is not altogether clear but of course can only be alpu. The signs at the end are somewhat cramped, but L a m i n a is probably correct.

137.—Insert *šad* after second sign.

138.—Read *Tar-zi*.

140.—There does not appear to be an erasure on the stone as Layard declares, but only a space such as we find elsewhere. The stone has *gušur* not *gušura-ti* as Winckler reads, though he may be right in adding the plural sign.

141.—There is a space at the beginning of the line, but there is nothing wanting. Possibly the scribe had written something and then erased it. *Aššâ* accordingly is the first word.

142.—Separate signs No. 9 and 10.

143.—The ninth sign from the end is without question *ub*, not *be*, as Layard, though with an interrogation mark, and Winckler, without the interrogation, have it.

145.—Separate again so as to read *am-daḥ-ḥ-iš*. There is a space at the end of this line, but nothing is wanting apparently. Possibly an erasure again.

146.—Join signs No. 11 and 12.

147.—The sign *na* at the end has the form here and elsewhere which Layard gives it.

150.—Separate signs No. 2 and 3.

152.—Read *lik* for *ri*.

153.—The character at the beginning is not clear. It may be *za*, as Winckler proposes; but there certainly is not room for an additional wedge, which we should expect in case this were really a proper name *Zaipparma*. But the first sign can very well be an erasure and we should then read the following signs *ip-lah*, explaining the sign *UT* for *ZAB*, as above l. 35. This is certainly the word that from the parallel passages we would expect here, and the only objection to the reading which appears to be adopted by Sayce (*RP.*, V., p. 38) is that we ought to have the plural form *iplaḥu*. This may be due to an omission of the scribe. In no case, however, can Winckler be right in reading "*Zaipparma*, the son of *Surri*," for he overlooks that the following word *ablu* has the plural sign after it. Separate signs after *bel* and insert *ti*, reading *ḥi-i-ti*. Cf. l. 81.

154.—Read *sa* for *ir*.

155.—The eleventh sign from end is *si*.

157.—The fourth sign must, of course, be *ṣab*, and the two following must be joined. In the case of the former, it looks as though the scribe had started to write *Ḥi*, and then noticing his error, attempted to change it.

158.—Winckler again proposes to read *as-pu-an* for the textual *ašpun*, but see above note to l. 125.

159.—The sign at the end after *DI* is *TAR*. Layard has failed to indicate that there is space after *ilu* for the sign for *Ašur*.

163.—Read *sa* for *ir*, overlooked by Winckler. The name of the country is *Madahisa*. The reading is confirmed by line 164, where again the stone has *sa* for the *ir* which appears erroneously in Layard's text.

165.—Read *da* for *al*.

166.—Stone as in Layard's text *UT*. See note to 35.

167.—Join 5th and 6th signs from end.

168.—The scribe has erroneously written *aš* for *ai* in the name *Man-na-ai*. Traces of *na* at the end of the line are to be seen.

169.—Read *sa* for *ir*.

170.—Join 10th and 11th signs from end. Second sign from end is *LAL*.

171.—Read *sa* for *ir*, second sign from end. Cf. Samsiramman, Col. III., 63 *Ar-ta-si-ra-ri*.

174.—Traces at the end of the line after *ir* are very faint. I distinguish the horizontal wedge given by Layard, and the beginning of a second above it. There is hardly room for anything more than a quite simple sign, and the most probable conjecture is *na*, though I do not wish this to be taken without reserve. For a suggestion with regard to the meaning of this word, see my commentary to the text, at the beginning of line.

175.—Winckler has coolly omitted the *ti*, which appears in Layard's text, without as much as intimating that there is something missing before *Ašur*. A close examination of the cast and photograph has convinced me that what Layard takes as one sign are really two. The first is *Aš* and the second *šI*, and the two are to be read *ina pan*. Winckler's translation "*eilte ich zum zweiten Male*," etc., is entirely wrong. He has not seen, as Sayce already pointed out (*RP.*, V., p. 4, note), that the lines refer to the celebration incident to the king's assumption of the eponymy for the second time. I shall speak fully of this passage in the commentary.

176.—Layard's text has *aš* for the ninth sign, and at first sight it really appears as though the sign were on the stone; but a closer examination reveals that the scribe himself evidently intended to correct an error he made, and attempted to erase a superfluous wedge. We must, of course, read *pa*.

177.—In this line Layard has omitted a second *a* in the proper name *Hu-bu-uš-ha-a-a* and a *šu* after *madatu*. Winckler follows Layard and in addition omits the *ina* after *iḫtirib*.

178.—Winckler erroneously transliterates *Sa* for *Šap* in the proper name *Šap-pa-ri-a*. There is a space after *Mušašira*, but nothing is wanting apparently.

179.—Winckler supplies the gap in the middle of this line by *[bi-ra]a-ti* without, however, intimating that there is any gap. There is scarcely anything to be seen on the cast after *a-di*. The first wedge may be a horizontal one.

While Winckler's conjecture is decidedly ingenious, it is not altogether acceptable. In the first place, the expression "to the fortresses of the country...I went" is rather strange, and so far as I know is not to be found elsewhere; secondly, it does not fit well with the continuation of the narrative, for immediately after, Shalmaneser says, "Fifty of his cities I destroyed," etc., without saying a word of the *birâti*. Of course it might be said in reply that the *birâti* are the cities, and while this is not impossible, the use of the word in line 34, where the *birtu* is sharply distinguished from *alu* (or *maḥâzu* as Schrader and Winckler would have us read, see *Keil. Bibl.*, p. VII.), rather argues against an identification of the two. Sayce, who translates "up to the borders," evidently thinks of *pa-a-ti*, and this is decidedly better, but is open to two serious objections, (1) the spelling would be very unusual and (2) there is space for more than the simple character *pa*. It is with all possible reserve that I raise the question whether we may not have the plural here of the *pissi* signalized above in the note to l. 121, and fill out the gap by reading [*pi-sa*]-*ti* or possibly *pi-is-sa-a-ti*, though there is scarcely room for so much. I cheerfully admit that the faint traces, while not interposing any obstacles, do not furnish evidence to support it. At all events, so much may be said, that from the context we should expect a word meaning "entrance," "border," or "interior," or the like, but hardly such a term as "fortresses."

180.—Fill out the gap by reading *ina išati ašrup* (up). There is hardly room for writing the last word phonetically, as Winckler does.

181.—Schrader (*KGF.*, p. 179), Sayce (*RP.*, V., p. 41), and Menant (*Annales*, p. 104) agree in reading *Man[na-ai]-a*, the country which borders upon Gilzan (see Schrader *KGF.*, s. v. and map). The following name is *Bu-ri-sa*, though the middle sign is not altogether clear. Correct Layard's reading *ir to sa*.

182.—I am unable to fill out the gap in this line. After *mat* a vertical wedge can be seen. The character which Layard takes for *ra*, (adding an interrogation mark) is very doubtful. Sayce renders "country of the Kharkhanians," but I do not know upon what warrant.

183.—The first sign should be *LAL*. The gap in the center is somewhat larger than shown in Layard, but the space for the proper name is diminished by the sign *at*, which we must insert before *to-rad*.

185.—Correct *ka* into *eli*, add *ina* before it and supply *šu-un*, thus reading *ina elišunu* (cf. l. 156, etc.). Winckler omits *ina*. The sign to which Layard adds a query is *uk*. The traces are distinct on the stone, and there is enough to show that the sign has the ordinary form. The last character can only be *lik*. Layard has *ri*, but the traces though faint show that *lik* was there. Two initial vertical and one horizontal wedge can be distinguished.

189.—The sign before the last is *sa* and not *ir*. See the note to l. 125.

BAS-RELIEF EPIGRAPHS.

A.—Su-u-a seems to be a clerical error for A-sa-a-u king of Gilzan, mentioned in the Mon. II., 69 (cf. Theile, *Gesch.*, p. 198). The identity of the two will hardly be questioned, and we might refer to Gusi and Agusi (see note to l. 130) as an example of an analogous variation. But may not the scribe have confused Asau with Su-u-a (written just as here) the king of Suḫmi who is mentioned Mon. II., 46?

C.—Read Sa-ke-ia instead of Layard's Irkea. It is surprising to find that Winckler should have retained an error which has been corrected by Menant (*Annales*, p. 105), Sayce (*RP.*, V., 42), Schrader (*KGF.*, p. 272, note), Delitzsch (*Par.*, 123), Oppert (*Egypte and Assyrie*, p. 9), and no doubt others, and which he might have detected by simply consulting the photograph.

D.—Winckler reads Mardukapluuṣur, just as above in l. 94 he reads Mardukšumudammik. Mardukbalnaṣir or Mardukablināṣir¹⁶ appears preferable.

E.—Winckler reads sipa-ar-ri, by joining the two signs following upon the ideogram for copper and changing the ḫu to ri. On the stone, however, the two characters are not written very close to one another, and the ḫu in Layard's text is certainly correct. Besides ar-ri as a phonetic complement to sippari is rather strange. I prefer to read simply ši-ri-ḫu, taking the word as an adjective to sipparu in the sense of "bulky" or the like. See the commentary to the text.

¹⁶ Genitive of ablu. I find on a cylinder which I publish in the October number of *Zeitschrift f. Assyri.*, the name Marduktābikzirim (genitive) written phonetically.

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.* II. GEN. 12:6—37:1.†

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IX. The Analysis of Gen. 12:6-17:27.‡

[The subjects treated in this section are,—(1) Abram in Canaan; (2) his sojourn in Egypt; (3) separation from Lot; (4) war with Chedorlaomer and meeting with Melchizedek; (5) his vision and the prediction of the Egyptian bondage; (6) birth of Ishmael; (7) the solemn covenant accompanied by circumcision.]

A. The Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO P.

13:6 (K. and S., 6b = J), 11b-12a; 16½:1 (K. and S., 1b = J), 3, 15sq. (Kitt., 16:1a = J; Well., Del., 16:1 = J); 17:1-27 [יְהוָה, in v. 1, for אֱלֹהִים = R].

2. SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

"Abram and Lot settle together in Canaan; but the land is too small for their possessions. Hence they separate; Abram remaining in Canaan, Lot dwelling in the 'cities of the plain.'" [Here belongs 19:29, in which P mentions, in passing, that, at the destruction of these cities, God saved Lot for Abraham's sake.] "Ten years later, Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar, her Egyptian slave, to Abram for a wife. A year afterwards, a son is born, whom *Abram* names Ishmael. Thirteen years later, God makes a covenant with Abram, promising that he shall become the 'father of a multitude of nations,' on account of which he is named *Abraham*. (*Sarai* also is changed to *Sarah*.) The promise is to be fulfilled through Isaac. Ishmael also is to be great, begetting twelve princes, and becoming a great nation. This covenant is to find expression, on Abraham's part, in the rite of *circumcision*, which is to be perpetuated among his seed forever. Accordingly, Abraham circumcises himself, Ishmael, and all the male servants of his household."

* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICIZED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The answer to certain criticisms made and certain positions taken by Professor Green in the *April* number, will be reserved until all the *historical* matter has been considered.

‡ This article will be continued in the October *HEBRAICA*. Professor Green's reply will appear in the January (1890) *HEBRAICA*.

§ In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

§ Before 16 belongs 19:29, misplaced by R; see the following *Synopsis*.

3. LANGUAGE OF P.

1) OLD WORDS.*

- (1) רְכוּשׁ (12:5; 18:6).
 (2) הַתְּהִלָּה *be pious* (17:1): cf. 5:22; 6; 9.
 (3) תָּמִים (17:1).
 (4) רָכַב (17:2,20).
 (5) מָאֵד מָאֵד (17:2,6,20).
 (6) אֱלֹהִים (17:3,7,8,9,15,18,19,22,23; 19:29).
 (7) אָנִי הֵנָּה (17:4).
 (8) פָּרָה (17:6,20).
 (9) הַקִּים בְּרִית (17:7,19,21): note also בְּרִית נָתַן 17:2.
 (10) נָתַן, for שָׁם or שִׁית (17:5,6,20).
 (11) אַחֲרָי *זָרַע (17:7 twice, 8,9,10,19).
 (12) דְּרוֹת (17:7,9,12).
 (13) בְּרִית עוֹלָם (17:7,13,19).
 (14) זָכַר (17:11,12,14,23).
 (15) עֵצָם *selfsame* (17:23,26).
 (16) יָלַד (Hiph'il) (17:20).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) נֶפֶשׁ *slave* (12:5): cf. Lev. 22:11; Num. 31:35,40.
 (2) אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן as Abraham's abode (12:5 twice; 13:12; 16:3; 17:8): cf. also 11:31.

(3) עֲרֵי הַכֶּכֶר, Lot's abode (13:12): cf. 19:29, which really belongs to this section.

(4) אֵל שְׂרֵי (17:1): cf. 28:3; 35:11; 48:3; Ex. 6:3.†

(5) אֲחֻזָּה (17:8): cf. Lev. 25:10, 13, 24, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 41, etc.

(6) מוֹל (and מָלַל) (17:10, 11, 12, 13 twice, 14, 23, 24, 26, 27): cf. 21:4; 34:15, 17, 22 twice, 24; Ex. 12:44, 48; Lev. 12:3. Nowhere in prophetic portions in sense of circumcision except Jos. 5:2, '3, 8 = E. But even there it is related as a *custom*, not as a *law*. See also Ex. 4:25.

(7) וּמַלְכִים.... יִצְאֻם (17:6): cf. 35:11.

(8) יָלַד בֵּית (17:12, 13, 23, 27): cf. Lev. 22:11.

(9) מִקְנֵת כֶּכֶר (17:12, 13, 23, 27): cf. Ex. 12:44.

(10) בֶּן נֶכֶד (17:12, 27): cf. Ex. 12:43; Lev. 22:25.

(11) וּנְכֻרְתָּהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְכֹר (17:14): cf. Ex. 12:15, 19; 31:14; Lev. 7:20, 21, 25, 27; 18:29; 23:29, etc.

(12) עָרַל (17:14): cf. Ex. 12:48.

(13) בָּשָׂר עָרְלָתָא (17:11, 14, 23, 24, 25): cf. Lev. 12:3.

(14) בְּרִיתִי הַפֶּר (17:14): cf. Lev. 26:44.

4. STYLE OF P.

It is—1) *Systematic*. (1) Just as (a) the story of creation led up to the announcement of the Sabbath, and (b) the story of the deluge culminated in a covenant with Noah and the law of bloodshed, so (c) this section brings us to the *covenant with Abraham*, and the institution of *circumcision*. [The entire story, including "Sodom's destruction," is told in seven and a half verses, while nearly the whole of ch. 17 (at least 20 verses) is given to the covenant and circumcision.] (2) This covenant is the third of a series; and P's systematic arrangement becomes further apparent, in that (a) the Sabbath is simply *made* holy; bloodshed is forbidden, and the rainbow appears only as a *sign* of the covenant (זֹאת אוֹת הַבְּרִית), while circumcision is more strongly emphasized, being *per se* the covenant (זֹאת בְּרִיתִי, 17:10, and וְהִיתָה בְּרִיתִי בְּבִשְׂרְכֶם, 17:13); still further, in that (b) the Sabbath, as an institution, is dismissed with but half a verse, 2:3a; bloodshed (omitting 9:4, the blood of animals, and the account of the rainbow, closely connected with the covenant) takes two verses, 9:5,6; but circumcision (purely the law) occupies five verses, 17:10-14. (3) The *dates* are consistent and consecutive, 12:4b; 16:3,16; 17:1,17,24,25.

* That is, words which have already been cited in connection with chs. 1-12:5; see HEBRAICA, Oct., '88, p. 64; also pp. 22-3, 32-3, 43-4, and 52-3.

† In all these cases, God reveals himself by this name, or the patriarchs speak of such a revelation. The presentations are consistent with, or conform to, Ex. 6:3.

2) *Chronological and statistical*, as seen in (1) his mentioning the exact age of Abram with every event, 12:4b; 16:16; 17:1, 24; (2) giving the age of others besides Abram; (a) Sarai's, 17:17, (b) Ishmael's, 17:25; (3) naming the date in 16:3. [Note that all these dates are consistent and consecutive.]

3) *Generic*. (1) Abram arrives in the "land of Canaan" [cf. J = ער מקום 'שכם וגו' 12:5; (2) Abram and Lot have "great possessions" [cf. J: "Abram was laden with cattle, silver and gold;" "and also Lot...had sheep, oxen and tents"] 13:6; (3) Abram dwells in the "land of Canaan," a very indefinite designation [cf. J = אלני ממרא, 13:12.

4) *Rigid and stereotyped*, as seen (1) in the expressions (a) היות לאלהים, 17:7, 8; (b) לברית עולם, 17:7, 13, 19; (c) זרעך אחריו, 17:7, 8, 9, 10; (d) בניי, 17:2, 7, 10, 11; (e) בעצם היום הזה, 17:23, 26. (2) In the utter absence of description or rhetorical figure; thus, the promise of *multitudes* is invariably expressed by גוים, 17:4, 5, 6, 16, [cf. JE: "as the dust of the earth;" "the stars of heaven;" "the sand on the seashore"].

5) *Verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (1) 12:5b, נען ארצה נען repeated; (2) last clause in 13:6, which adds nothing; (3) 16:8, which might have been condensed, without any loss, into seven words, ותקח שרי את הגר ותתן אתה לאברם, or one-third of its present length; (4) 16:15, where אשר ילדה הגר is superfluous; (5) ch. 17, every thought of which is found in vs. 1, 2, 3a, 4b, 6b, 5a (including אברהם, 8a (omitting את ארץ מגריך, 10, 12 (omitting כל זכר לדרותיכם, 14a, 15, 16 (omitting וברכתיה, 17-20, 22, 26, 27; or, in other words, out of twenty-seven verses only about fifteen are really necessary, even for all the legal minutiae. As a matter of fact, it could be so written as to require less than half the space P gives to it.

Note.—The "material" and "theology" of P can be more easily presented in connection with that of J, and will therefore be taken up later. See pp. 248-250.

B. The Element of J (more strictly, JE).*

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

12:6-9 (Well., Kuen., 12:9 = R^J), 10-20 [their basis = J† (Well., Kuen., = J²); 13:2, 5, 7-11a, 12 [only the last clause], 13-18 [3sq. and ולוט עמו in v. 1 = R (Well., Kuen., 1, 3sq. = R^J; 14-17 = R^d; K. and S., 1-5 (except ולוט עמו in 1), 6b-11a, 12 (last clause only) = J, also 13-18)]; 15:4, 9-18* [all worked over by R, while 12-16 = R *wholly*; also 7sq. = R; 19-21 = R^d(?); in 1-3 traces of J are found. (So K. and S., Well., 7sq., 12-16 = R; 19-21 = R^d; Kuen., 15 = J mingled with an unknown account by R who also changed and augmented it; 5sq. = R^d; 13-16 and 19-21 = R^d + R(?). Bud., 1, 2a, 3b, 4, 6-11, 17, 18 = J; 12-16,

* In this section, J is prophetic, as over against P, which is priestly; the E element is as yet too indistinct and uncertain to demand separate treatment.

† 12:10-20 belongs to J (after 18:18), worked over by R. [See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, 5th ed., p. 223].

19-21 = R. Del., 15 = J, except 2 and 16 = E; 8-21 = J on a basis of E. Kitt., 1,6 = JE; 3sq. = J¹; 7-18 = J², except *parts* of 9-12 and perhaps 18 = E; 14 = P(?)]; 16:2,4-14 (Well., 1,2,4-8,11-14 = J; 8-10 = R^a[JE]. Bud., 1 = P². Kuen., Kitt., 9sq. = R^a[JE]. Del. gives also v. 1 to J; K. and S. 1b,2,4-7,11-14 = J).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Having reached Shechem, Abram builds an altar to Yahweh who appears to him there. He then moves to the mountains, and builds another altar. Now a quarrel arises between the herdmen of Abram and Lot (who accompanied him, as recorded in 12:4a), and so Abram proposes a friendly separation. Accordingly, Lot chooses the 'fertile plain of the Jordan,' becoming a neighbor of the wicked Sodomites; while Abram settles among 'Mamre's oaks.' But a famine compels Abram to go to Egypt. Here Sarai's extraordinary beauty becomes a source of anxiety to Abram, lest the Egyptians kill him. They represent themselves as brother and sister; and Sarai is taken to Pharaoh's harem. But Yahweh sends plagues upon the king and his household. Pharaoh thus discovers that she is married, and so he restores her to Abram, and sends them away in peace. After that, Yahweh appears to Abram in a vision, repeats the promise (often made before), that Abram's descendants are to be as 'innumerable as the stars.' A covenant is made by passing through the pieces of bisected victims. But Sarai, still childless, recommends Hagar, her handmaid, to Abram, in the hope that children may thus be raised up. Hagar, at the prospect of raising up an heir—sole heir, in fact—to Abram, naturally becomes elated, and begins to treat her mistress slightly. Sarai punishes her so severely that she runs away. But an angel orders her back, at the same time promising her a son, whom she is to call Ishmael."

3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יהוה (12:7 twice, 8 twice, 17; 13:4,10 twice, 13,14,18; 15:1,2,4,6,18; 16:2,5,7,9,10,11 twice, 13).
- (2) מִזְבֵּחַ (12:7,8; 13:4,18).
- (3) מִקְדָּשׁ (12:8 twice; 13:11).
- (4) אָהַל (12:8; 13:3,5, (12,18 as a verb)).
- (5) נָא (12:11,13; 13:8,9,14; 16:2 twice).
- (6) בַּעֲבוּר (12:13,16).
- (7) מִקְנֶה (13:2,7 twice).
- (8) אֲנֹכִי (15:1,2,14(= R^a?); 16:5,8).
- (9) דִּין (15:14).
- (10) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל (16:2).
- (11) וַתֵּחֶר (16:4).
- (12) עַל-כֵּן (16:14).
- (13) כָּרַת בְּרִית (15:18).
- (14) קָלַל (16:4,5).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) וַיֵּעָתֵק מִשָּׁם (12:8): cf. 26:22.
- (2) הִקְרִיב intrans. *approach* (12:11): cf. Ex. 14:10; in P the Hiph'il of קָרַב *always* has a direct object, which is *caused* to draw near, and *usually* refers to sacrifice.
- (3) בָּגַל (12:13): cf. 30:27; 39:5.
- (4) ... צִוָּה עַל (12:20): only here and in 2 Sam. 14:8.
- (5) בַּתְּחִלָּה (13:3): cf. 41:21; 43:18,20. See also בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה (13:4).
- (6) אֶלְנֵי מִמְרָא, Abram's abode, (13:18): cf. 18:1.
- (7) נִשְׂא עֵינַי (13:10,14): cf. 18:2; 22:4,13; 24:64; 31:10,12; 33:1,5; 37:25; 43:29; Ex. 14:10.
- (8) לִקְרָאתָ (15:10): cf. 18:2; 19:1; 24:65; 32:7, etc.

(9) אָוִי (16:2): cf. 18:24,28,29,30sqq.

(10) הַבֵּית (15:5): cf. 19:17,28, etc.

3) POETIC* WORDS.

(1) יָמִין and שְׂמָאל, as verbs, (13:9).

(2) עִירִי and מֶשֶׁק (15:2): note the pun מֶשֶׁק and רֶמֶשֶׁק.

(3) צָרָקָה (15:6).

(4) גִּזְלוֹ (15:9).

(5) בָּתֵּר (15:10).

(6) עֵיט (15:11).

(7) גִּזְרִים and לִפְדֵּי עֹלָמָה (15:17).

(8) פָּרָא (16:12).

(9) רָאִי (16:13).

4. J'S STYLE.

1) It is *free* and *flowing*. (1) No particular *system*; while the covenant between Yahweh and Abram is recorded, it is neither the climax, nor the all-important fact of the narrative. It is connected with no *institution*; and the promise made *then*, is only one of many repeatedly made by Yahweh, in his familiar intercourse with the patriarchs. (2) On the other hand, though his stories are quite independent, the transition from one to another is smooth and easy.

2) It abounds in *story* and *tradition*. (1) Cause of separation between Abram and Lot (13:7sq.); (2) episode of Sarai in Egypt (12:10-20); (3) trouble between Sarai and Hagar (16:4-6); (4) Hagar's meeting with the angel (16:7-12).

3) It is *vivid*, *poetic* and *dramatic*, in (1) the abundance of brief conversations, as (a) between Abram and Sarai (12:11b-13); (b) Pharaoh and Abram (12:18,19); (c) Abram and Lot (13:8,9); (d) Sarai and Abram in *giving* Hagar [in this case the contrast is very marked between P and J. The former *tells* the fact, "And Sarai took Hagar," etc.; the latter *brings out* the fact through a family conference between husband and wife (cf. 16:2 with 16:3); the difference being the same as between an annalist and a novelist]; (e) Sarai's report of Hagar's misbehavior, and Abram's reply (16:5,6); (2) the fact that these conversations are marked as much by artistic skill as by deep insight into human nature; e. g., (a) the way in which Abram approaches a disagreeable subject: "Behold, I know that thou art a fair woman," etc. (12:11); (b) the way in which he dismisses Lot: "Let there be no strife between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are brethren. Is not the *whole land* before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me," etc. (13:8,9); (c) the pathos of Sarai's words: "Behold now, Yahweh hath restrained me from bearing; go in, I pray thee, to my handmaid; it may be that I shall be builded by her;" (d) the natural pride of Hagar at the prospect of becoming the mother of Abram's heir; (e) the prompt and emphatic charge made by Sarai to her husband; (3) the beautiful touches of description: (a) the way in which an Asiatic monarch treats a fair woman (12:15),—she is noticed, praised, taken; (b) the description of the fertility of the "plain of Jordan," "like the garden of Yahweh, like the land of Egypt" (13:10); (c) the description of the

* These are in so far characteristic of JE, that they cannot go with P, any more than a lawyer's digest should use Miltonic expressions.

future "child of the desert," "he shall be a wild-ass of a man!" (16:12); (d) we almost see the slaughtered animals when we read, "and the birds of prey came down on the carcasses, and Abram drove them away" (15:11).

4) It is *anthropomorphic*. (1) Yahweh appears often and familiarly (12:7; 13:14; 15:1-4 and 17); (2) Pharaoh's plagues come *directly* from Yahweh (12:17); (3) Yahweh's *angel* (it would scarcely be proper, from a *human* point of view, that Yahweh *himself* should appear to a *slave*) holds a long conversation with Hagar even; (4) in Hagar's mind at least, there seems to be no distinction between an angel and Yahweh himself (see 16:13, וּתְקַרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה); (5) the covenant is made by Yahweh's passing between the victims (in the same way as men made a treaty; cf. 21:27-30); (6) Yahweh is *seen* in the form of a burning flame (15:17); cf. Ex. 3:2, "the *burning* bush."

5) It abounds in *historical* and *geographical* references. (1) "The Canaanite was then in the land" (12:6); (2) "having Bethel on the west and Ai on the east" (12:8); (3) "the Canaanite and Perizzite dwelt then in the land" (13:7); (4) "the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners" (13:13); (5) "as thou goest to Zoar" (13:10); (6) "by the fountain in the way to Shur" (16:7); (7) "it is between Kadesh and Bered" (16:14); (8) the origin of the name לְחַי רֵאִי (16:14).

6) It is *individual* rather than *generic*. (1) Abram arrives not in *Canaan*, but at the *particular* "place of Shechem;" (2) the location of his tents are *exactly* described; (3) Lot pitches his tent toward Sodom; (4) Abram's *address* is "Mamre's oaks;" (5) the covenant is made, not simply "on that very day," but "when the sun went down, and it was dark" (15:17); (6) the *promised* land is bounded by the river of Egypt and Euphrates (15:18); (7) the angel finds Hagar at a *particular* fountain (16:7).*

5. MATERIAL OF P AND JE.†

This may be considered under three heads:

1) *Repetition*, or *duplicate accounts*. (1) Both P and J tell of Abram's arrival in Canaan (P = 12:5b; J = 12:6); (2) both mention Lot as going with Abram (J = 12:4a; P = 12:5a); (3) according to both they subsequently separate (J = 13:11a; P = 13:11b); (4) according to both, God appears to Abram, after the separation, and makes a covenant with him (J = 15:1,9-11,17sq.; P = 17:1-4,10); (5) both relate Hagar's union with Abram, and Ishmael's birth (P = 16:1,3,15; J = 16:1†,2,4,11); (6) both record God's promise to Abram for multitudinous posterity, and through Isaac (J = 12:2; 15:4sq.;‡ P = 17:2b,6,19).

* All these, from another point of view, indicate *vividness of description*.

† For the sake of convenience and brevity, the "material" and the "theology" of both P and J (or JE) are presented together.

‡ Incorporated by R with P.

§ While there is some doubt whether these verses are J or E, for the purpose in hand it does not matter, since we are comparing the priestly *vs.* the *prophetic*.

2) *Differences in presentation of material.* (1) The *language and style*, both of which have been considered in detail elsewhere; (2) P does not know of any family quarrels; e. g., Abram and Lot separate for lack of room simply [cf. 36:7, where, according to the *same* writer, Jacob and Esau also separate merely for lack of land]: and Sarai has no difficulty whatever with *Hagar*; but J, on the other hand, is evidently interested in the “domestic differences” of the patriarchs; (3) P says nothing about Sarai’s connection with a foreign court, while the prophetic writers give *two* such accounts, possibly *three* (12:10–20; 20; and also 26:6–12, where Rebekah is, perhaps, only substituted for Sarai, or, if this is the original, Sarai is but a different and expanded version of Rebekah, see Well., p. 320 and note); (4) P locates Abram in ארץ כנען; J, in אלני מברא; (5) Lot settles, according to P, in ערי הכנר; but according to J, in כנר היכרן; (6) P, consistently, makes Abram, the *father*, name Ishmael (16:15); J, as usual, leaves it with the mother (16:11); (7) P makes *much* of circumcision, J omits it entirely.

3) *Inconsistencies.* Not only do there seem to be *two* accounts, and these to be *differently* presented; but they are *inconsistent*, one with the other. The story of Abram’s visit to Egypt (12:10–20), besides other considerations,—such as (1) the fact that it is a story; (2) its diction; (3) its fluent style (all of which bear the imprint of J),—is (4) inconsistent with P’s dates; this will appear from the following considerations: ch. 12:4b makes Abram 75 years of age when leaving Haran (or, which is the same, on entering Canaan), and 17:17 tells us that Sarai was ten years younger than Abram; the journey to Egypt took place after their settling in Canaan (probably after Lot had left them, since he is lost sight of in the Egyptian story*), that is, when Sarai was over 65 years old; that a woman at such an age, however attractive, could so charm the Egyptian court as to endanger her husband’s life, is inconceivable. Sarai died at the age of 127. She would therefore be past middle life; but it must be remembered that longevity does not distribute itself equally to all periods of life; it is rather an addition at the end. It is further to be noted that at the age of 90 she is described (18:11,12) as exceedingly old; and the giving birth to a son at this age is understood to be miraculous.

6. THEOLOGY OF P AND J.

1) (1) According to P’s representation, God is *exalted* far beyond man’s reach, as seen in the fact that (a) God appears only on most important occasions, when he is about to make a covenant; (b) even then he emphasizes his almightiness, אני אל שרי; (c) when he appears “Abram falls on his face” (17:3,16); (d) the covenant consists only in *words*, a promise and a command: God is present, but

* The last clause in 18:1 is probably to be assigned to R. If it were original, Lot would most naturally come after ואשתו.

not *visible*. (2) J, on the other hand, represents Yahweh as *familiar* with and near to man; e. g., (a) he appears, in person or through an angel, quite frequently; (b) he punishes Pharaoh, "for Sarai's sake" (12:17), personally; (c) he sends his angel to restore Hagar to her mistress; (d) to ratify the covenant, Yahweh "passes through the victims" as a "smoking furnace and flame of fire" (15:17).

2) (1) P, persistently and consistently, mentions neither altar nor offering, even at the making of a covenant, while (2) J tells of many altars built (12:7,8; 13:18), and specifies the victims slaughtered for the covenant.

3) (1) The great central thought in P's story, to which all the rest is subordinate and introductory, is the institution of *circumcision*, God's covenant being imprinted on the very flesh of his chosen one and his seed. (2) From J we would never know of circumcision as an institution; and so far as this particular writer* is concerned, even its existence as a custom would seem to date from Moses' day; cf. Ex. 4:25. See Well., p. 340 and note.

C. Chapter 14 (= E?).

1. VERSES ASSIGNED TO E.†

14:1-16,21-24 [all worked over by R, who also *added* vs. 17-20 (Well., Kuen., 14 = R *entirely*; Del., = J*; Kitt., all except glosses‡ = E; 17-20, however, are R on a *basis* of E; K. and S. regard 14 as of entirely peculiar origin)]; 15:1-6 contain some *traces* of E (K. and S., only v. 5 = E).

2. THE STORY OF CH. 14.

"Five kings of the 'valley of Siddim,' who for twelve years had been subject to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, rebel in the thirteenth year. The Elamite, accompanied by three other kings, marches against the rebels, among whom are the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah. The latter are utterly routed and their possessions carried off as booty by the victorious party. They carry off also Lot and his goods. A fugitive brings the news to 'Abram, the Hebrew,' who immediately arms 318 of his trained men, and with the aid of three *allied* chieftains, pursues the conquerors, and rescues, not only his relative, but also the people of Sodom and their property. On his return, Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of the 'most high God', brings forth bread and wine, and blesses the Hebrew hero, who reverently gives him a tithe of everything. The offer of the king of Sodom that Abram should retain the restored goods and return only the people, is magnanimously and proudly rejected by the patriarch, who accepts only a portion for the men who were his confederates."

* J, as distinct from E; the latter has some reference to circumcision in Jos. 5:2, etc.

† No critic claims 14, as it stands and entirely, for E. R's hand is universally recognized. The question is, Where did R get his *basis*, and how much did he add?

‡ Such as in verses 2, 7, 8.

3. LANGUAGE OF 14.*

1) Ὑπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) Expressions found nowhere else; as (a) בעל-ברית *confederate* (14:13), (b) הָרִיק (with *men*) (14:14), (c) חֲנִיךְ (14:14), (d) קִנְה שָׁמַיִם (God) (14:19).

(2) Expressions occurring in no other passage of the Pentateuch; as (a) אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן (14:18), (b) P^{rel} of מִנַּי *deliver over* (14:20); (c) הַעֲשֵׂרֹתִי (14:23), (d) שָׂרֹךְ (14:23).

2) WORDS OF P.

(1) רֶכֶשׁ (14:11,12,16 twice, 21).

(2) נַפֶּשׁ *slave, or prisoner of war* (14:21).

(3) יֵלִיד בֵּית (14:14).

(4) מַעֲשֵׂר (14:20), also in D.

3) THE FOLLOWING WORDS ARE CLAIMED TO BE CHARACTERISTIC(?) OF E:

(1) עֵמֶק הַשָּׂדִים (?) (= P's הכָּכָר, and J's כְּכַר הַיֶּרֶד) (14:3,8,10).

(2) מֶרֶד (14:4).

(3) הַפְּלִיט (?) (14:13).

(4) בִּלְעָדִי (14:24): cf. 41:16.

(5) Also the names of אֲדֹמָה and צַבִּיִּים (in connection with סָרַם and עֹמְרָה) are said to be E. [In 10:19 these names are said to be inserted by R.]

4) WORDS OF J.

(1) חֹמֶר (14:10): cf. 11:3.

(2) אֲלֹנֵי מֹמְרָא (= Abram's abode) (14:13).

(3) יְהוּדָה (14:22).

4. STYLE.

1) On the whole it is prophetic; from the fact that (1) it is easy and flowing;† (2) it is vivid and descriptive;† (3) it abounds in historic and geographic references;† (4) it is decidedly *individual*, as seen (a) in giving the *names* of the contending kings (14:1,2); (b) in describing the nations and localities of those conquered by Chedorlaomer on his way (14:5-7); (c) in naming the places where Abram encountered the conquering armies (verses 14, 15); (d) the reference to Abram's alliance with a foreign chief [cf. 21:22-32a; 26:26-31].

2) On the other hand, it has some of P's peculiarities: e. g., (1) giving exact *numbers*, as (a) the years they served Chedorlaomer (v. 4); (b) the year they rebelled; (c) the year of the Elamite's expedition (v. 5); (d) "four kings with the five" (v. 9); (e) Abram's trained men were 318 (v. 14); (2) being *verbose* and *repetitious*, as seen in (a) the re-naming of all the kings in vs. 8,9; (b) their summing up numerically; (c) repetition of certain expressions, as אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן and קִנְה....וְאֲרִץ.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Strange phenomena.* (1) The chapter presupposes 13:11,12, in that it mentions Lot as dwelling in Sodom (v. 12), but gives no impression of Sodom's wickedness, related in 13:13, or in chs. 18, 19. (2) Abram, so much afraid of being killed by the Egyptians, according to 12:12, appears *here* as a hero who risks his life for a *nephew*—not his *wife*—and conquers the combined forces of four mighty kings. (3) It describes Abram as "the Hebrew," as if he had never been heard of before; the appellation itself, a strange one. (4) The same applies, though with less force, to Mamre being described as the Amorite. (5) It contains

* The few doubtful verses in 15 may be disregarded for critical consideration.

† All these points are so obvious as to require no illustration.

many glosses by a later hand; as (a) **הוא צער** (vs. 2, 8); (b) **הוא ים המלח** (v. 3); (c) **הוא קרש** (v. 7); (d) **רן** (v. 14) [a name not given to the place before the account given in *Judges* 18:29]; (e) **הוא עמק המלך** (v. 17). (6) It refers to *Jerusalem* (**שֶׁלֶם** in v. 18 = **ירושלים**), *priest*, *tithes*, and *priestly blessing*, thus presupposing, at least, Deuteronomy. (7) The names of nations, in vs. 5-7, coincide with those in Deut. 2:10-12, 20. (8) **ענר**, **אשכל** and **ממרא**, used elsewhere as names of *places*, appear here as names of *people*. (9) There is not the slightest allusion to the strange story here told, in anything that follows it.

2) *Inferences*. (1) It must be from a *late* hand, probably = R, who was acquainted with all accounts and vocabularies. (2) The *original* source of the legend cannot be determined dogmatically, since the characteristics are not decisive. Hence critics differ widely, as indicated on p. 250 and note; some laying more stress on one set of facts; others, on another.

Remarks. (1) At first sight, this chapter is strongly against the analysis, since critics differ so radically as to its source. (2) But are there not as many difficulties in the way of the view which makes it a part of a complete narrative? With the exception perhaps of (6) and (7), none of the difficulties enumerated above under 5. 1, p. 251 sq., can be satisfactorily answered. (3) The whole story is so isolated from what precedes and follows, that it can be left out of account entirely without interfering with our inquiry. (4) From another stand-point, it only confirms the critics' position as to the "liberties of R."

6. THEOLOGY.

1) It glorifies *Jerusalem* and its *priesthood*, and justifies the latter's claim to *tithes*.

2) It has some *peculiar titles* for the *deity*.

3) Otherwise, there is nothing *decisive*, except it be **יהוה** in v. 22.

X. The Analysis of Gen. 18:1-23:20.

[*Subjects*: (1) The promise of Isaac; (2) Abraham's intercession for Sodom; (3) the rescue of Lot by the angels; (4) Lot and his daughters; (5) Sarah at Abimelech's court; (6) birth of Isaac; (7) Hagar and Ishmael in the desert; (8) alliance between Abraham and Abimelech; (9) the offering up of Isaac; (10) Sarah's death, and the purchase of the cave of *Machpelah*.]

A. The Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

[19:29]*; 21:1b [for **יהוה** read **אלהים**], 2b-5 (so K. and S.; Well., Kuen., Del. deny 1b to P²; Kitt., Del. give also 2a to P²); 23:1-20.

* This, however, belongs before 16:1, see p. 243, last note.

2. SYNOPSIS.

"God fulfills his promise in time; and when Abraham is 100 years old a son is born to him by Sarah. The child is named Isaac, and is circumcised on the eighth day. Sarah, at the age of 127 years, dies in Kirjath-arba (which is Hebron). Having duly mourned over his wife, Abraham—after much bargaining—purchases the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite; for which he pays 400 shekels; the property is made sure to him and is set apart as a family burial lot; Sarah's remains are laid away in it."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלהים (19:29 twice; 21:2b,4; 23:5).
 (2) ערי הכבר (19:29).
 (3) מועד (21:2).
 (4) מול (21:4).
 (5) ארץ כנען (= Abram's abode) (23:2,19).
 (6) אחוזה (23:4, 9, 20).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) תושב (23:4): cf. Lev. 25:6,23,35,40,45,47, etc.

- (2) מערת המכפלה (23:9,19): cf. 25:9; 49:29-32; 50:13.

- (3) כסף מלא (23:9): cf. 1 Chr. 21:22,24.

- (4) עובר לסחר (23:16): only here.

- (5) סביב (23:17): cf. Ex. 16:13; 25:24,25 twice; 27:17; 28:32,34 three times; Lev. 1:5,11; 3:2, etc.; Num. 1:53; 2:2, etc.

- (6) שני חיי (23:1): cf. 25:7,17; 47:9 twice; Ex. 6:16,18,20.

4. STYLE OF P.

It is—1) *Chronological and numerical*; as seen in the fact that (1) Isaac is eight days old at circumcision (21:4); (2) Abraham is 100 years old (21:5); (3) Sarah dies when 127 years old (23:1); (4) Abraham pays for Machpelah 400 shekels (23:15,16).

2) *Minute, precise, legal*. (1) All the above examples illustrate this point also; (2) Kirjath-arba, which is Hebron, in the land of Canaan (23:2,19); (3) in specifying, every time he mentions מערת המכפלה, its exact location, and what it included (23:17,19); (4) repetition of שנה with each number in 23:1.

3) *Rigid, stereotyped*. Note (1) the phrase אחוזת קבר, 23:4,9,20; (2) all speakers in the bargaining begin with "hear now," 23:6,8,11,13; (3) the different parts of the transaction are introduced by set formulæ, as (a) Abraham's speeches by וידבר.... לאמר, 23:3,8,12; (b) those of the Hittites by ענה את אברהם לאמר...., 23:5,10,14; (4) Ephron and Abraham talk all the while "in the ears of" the people, 23:10,12,16.

4) *Verbose, repetitious*. (1) 21:3b adds nothing to 1a; (2) just six words, הנוולר... שרה, (out of twelve words) are superfluous in 21:3; (3) 23:1b is a clumsy repetition of 1a, in which שנה might twice be omitted; (4) 23:6b is not needed; (5) out of eighteen words in 23:11, only the first seven are necessary to express the thought; (6) out of twenty words in 23:17, only the first five are needed; (7) the last seven words in 23:19, and all of v. 20, might be omitted, so far as concerns the expression of new thought.

5. MATERIAL.*

1) *Remarks.* (1) P has but little material in this section, practically nothing but the transaction of the "cave of Machpelah;" 19:29 (the parenthetical statement about Sodom's destruction) really belongs to the preceding section; while the account of Isaac's birth has been considerably modified by R, 21:1-5. (2) The principal narrative (ch. 23) is very unique, the other documents knowing nothing about it. Hence, neither comparison nor contrast is possible. That it is P, has been shown clearly under "Language" and "Style." (3) The few verses in 21, which are unmistakably P, fall in very naturally with ch. 17. Isaac was promised (17:16,19), Isaac is accordingly born. And, of course, P will tell us about the child's circumcision and the father's age (21:2-5).

2) The following points, though strictly belonging to the *last* section, must be noticed here, because the comparison with J could not have been satisfactorily made before taking up the latter's material: Notice, then, (1) as compared with J, we find the following duplicates in the promise of Isaac: (a) according to both, God appears to announce Isaac's birth (P=17:16,19; J=18:1-14); (b) the announcement is received with laughter (P=17:17a; J=18:12); (c) the *incredulity* is due to Abraham's and Sarah's extreme age (P=17:17b; J=18:11,12); (d) according to both, Isaac is to be born just a year after promise (P=17:21b; J=18:10,14). (2) As compared with J, we find the following duplicates in the story of Sodom's destruction. The single v. 29 of ch. 19 contains (a) the fact that the "cities of the plain" were destroyed (= J in 19:24,25), and (b) the rescue of Lot (= J in 19:16-23); (3) there are also the following *differences* in the announcement of Isaac: (a) according to P, it is Abraham who laughs (17:17a) (which probably accounts for naming the child Isaac (17:19), the whole presentation being consistent with P, who invariably makes the father name the child); while in J it is Sarah who laughs; (b) according to P, Abraham is too old to beget a child (17:17); while from J it would seem that Sarah's age was foremost in mind and the difficulty in the case (18:11b,12b,13b). (4) As to Lot's deliverance, we must note, (a) according to J, he is saved for his *own* goodness (cf. the *whole* story about his *hospitality*; but especially 18:16, *בְּחֶמְלַת יְהוָה עָלָיו*); while P says it is for *Abraham's* sake (18:29); (b) according to J, Lot is sent away *before* the destruction *begins* (so the whole presentation, but particularly 18:22-24); but P tells us he was sent out "*from the midst of the catastrophe*" (18:29). (5) As compared with E, ch. 20 is *incompatible* with *Sarah's age*, as given in 17:17 [cf. (4) under 3], p. 249, last section; the remarks made there are applicable here, but with *greater* force, since there Sarah was only 65 years, while *here* she is 90].†

* Hereafter, the material will be considered (1) under P, where the priestly narrative will be compared with JE, and (2) under E, where E will be contrasted with J. It will not then be necessary to discuss "material" under J.

† A consideration of ch. 20, in the light of J's account in 18:11,12, will be found, under E's "Material."

3) It has already been indicated that the various accounts about *Isaac's birth*, given in 21:1-7, while clearly *composite in character*, have as yet found no satisfactory analysis. The difficulty is an insignificant one.

6. THEOLOGY.*

1) Here again, the small amount of material in *this* section compels us to draw our comparisons from *previous* sources.

2) The announcement of Isaac is made by God, according to P, in a *formal* revelation (17:19). Cf. with this J's extreme *anthropomorphism* (18:1-15).

3) According to P, God destroys the cities *directly*; according to J, he uses *natural means*, "sulphur and fire," which probably means volcanic action and lightning.

4) P remembers to tell us about Isaac's *circumcision*; JE, as usual, knows nothing of such an *institution* [cf. 3) (2), p. 250].

5) The whole story of Abraham's purchasing a burial place, is P's way of making the patriarch *legally* hold property in the "land of Canaan," and it is only this writer who takes care to gather Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah and Jacob into it [cf. 25:9; 49:29-32; 50:13]. The other writers do not refer to it.

B. Element of J.

1. VERSES.

18:1-33 (Well., Kuen., 17-19, 22b-33 = R^d; K. and S., 17-19 = R); 19:1-28, 30-38 (K. and S., 30-38 = R); 21:1a, 2a, 7, 32b-34 (so K. and S.; Well., 1 = R; 32b, 34 = R^d; Bud., 6b = J [it belongs, however, after 7]; Kuen., 1*, 2a [except לִיקְנִי = R] = P²; 6, 7 = E(?); 32-34 = R^d(?) or J(?); Del., 1 = R, 6-8 = E, 32-34 = J; Kitt., 1a, 7, 6b, 33 = J, but nothing more); 22:20-24 (Well., = E; Bud., = J, and belongs after 21:6b; K. and S., like Dill., except first clause of 20).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Yahweh and two angels appear, in the form of three men, to Abraham at 'Mamre's oaks.' He receives them very hospitably. Yahweh, as spokesman of the guests, announces that when the season revives, Sarah shall have a son. Sarah, overhearing this remark behind the door, laughs at the idea that at her extreme age, Abraham also being old, she should become a mother. Yahweh takes her to task for doubting his promise. She, abashed, says, 'I did not laugh;' but Yahweh insists that she did laugh. Then the guests depart, and, as Abraham accompanies them, Yahweh tells him confidentially of the fate that awaits Sodom. Abraham pleads for the doomed city, reminding Yahweh that there may be some good people in it for whose sake the entire place ought to be pardoned. He begins with the possibility of fifty just men; but as Yahweh listens to his

* This heading also will be treated hereafter in the same way as "Material" (cf. note at the bottom of the preceding page).

pleading he comes down to ten; and even for that number Yahweh promises to save Sodom. Yahweh then departs, and Abraham returns home. Meanwhile, the two angels (who started for Sodom when Yahweh and Abraham began their earnest conversation) arrive at the city gate, where Lot receives them politely and invites them to spend the night with him. With some reluctance, they accept his offer, and enter his house. Before they retire, the Sodomites surround the house, and vigorously demand of Lot the surrender of the strangers. Lot steps out to them, locking the door behind him; he begs the mob to respect the right of hospitality, offering even his two innocent daughters to be treated by the rabble at its pleasure, provided they do not disturb his guests. But the blood-thirsty crowd, accusing him of continually playing the judge, rush forward to break in the door. At this point, the angels interfere: they take Lot into the house, close the door, and smite the crowd with blindness. They then instruct Lot to remove all his near relatives from the city; but his sons-in-law laugh at his fears. And so, at daybreak, the angels urge him to take his wife and two daughters and flee for his life to the mountain. Lot prefers to run to Zoar; is granted also this. He reaches this place of refuge, just as the sun appears above the horizon. Yahweh causes brimstone and fire to rain over the doomed cities, and they are utterly destroyed. Lot's wife casts a glance backward—which was *forbidden*—and becomes petrified. But Lot is afraid to remain even in Zoar; so he hides himself in a cave with his two daughters. These, thinking that the whole world perished in the destruction, decide to perpetuate the race by intercourse with their father, whom they bring, for two successive nights under the influence of wine, and thus accomplish their end. This explains the origin of Moab (from the elder daughter) and Ammon (from the younger). A year after, Isaac is born; and Abraham praises God. Just then, Abraham learns that his brother Nahor (whom he had left in Mesopotamia) has raised up quite a family, among others, *Rebekah*, the daughter of Bethuel, the youngest son of eight."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יְהוָה (18:1,13,14,17,19 twice, 20,22,26,33; 19:13 twice, 14,16,24 twice, 27; 21:1,33).
 (2) אֵלַי מִמָּרָא (18:1).
 (3) אָהֵל (18:1,2,6,9,10).
 (4) חָם (18:1).
 (5) לִקְרָאתָ (18:2; 19:1).
 (6) נָא (18:3 twice, 4,21,27,30,31,32; 19:2,7,8 twice, 18,19,20 twice).
 (7) מִצָּחַ חֵן (18:3; 19:10).
 (8) עַל-כֵּן (18:5; 19:8,22).
 (9) אִיָּהּ (18:9; 19:5).
 (10) אָף (18:13,23,24).
 (11) בַּעֲבוּר (18:26,29,31,32).
 (12) יֶסֶף (18:20).
 (13) חִרָה (18:30,32).

- (14) הַפְעָם (18:32).
 (15) יָדַע = sexual intercourse (19:5,7).
 (16) סָנַר (19:6,10).
 (17) רֶקַע (19:8).
 (18) עֵתָהּ (19:9).
 (19) גִּדְלָהּ (19:19).
 (20) פֶּן (19:17,19).
 (21) טָרַם (19:4).
 (22) אֹוִלִי (18:24,28,29,30,31,32).
 (23) הִבֵּט (19:17,26).
 (24) לְבַלְתִּי (19:21).
 (25) מָטַר (19:24).
 (26) הוּא אֲבִי (19:37,38).
 (27) נִם-הוּא (19:38; 22:20,24).
 (28) נִשָּׂא עֵינָם וְכו' (18:2; 22:4,13 [= E]).

2) NEW WORDS.*

- (1) שֶׁן (18:4): only in Num. 21:15 = E.
 (2) מֹהַר (18:6,7): cf. 27:20; 45:9,13; Ex. 2:18.
 (3) עֹמֵד עַל (= stand near) (18:3): cf. 24:30; 41:1,17; Num. 14:14.
 (4) כַּעַת (18:10,14): cf. Ex. 9:18; Num. 28:23; Jos. 11:6.
 (5) בָּא בִּימִים (18:11): cf. 24:1; Jos. 18:1 twice(?); 23:1(?).
 (6) חָרַל (18:11): cf. 41:49; Ex. 9:34; 23:5. In P only in Num. 9:13; but in a somewhat different sense.
 (7) אֶרֶץ (18:11): cf. 49:17. A poetic word.
 (8) אֶמְכֵּם (18:13): cf. Num. 22:37 = E. A rare word.
 (9) שָׁקַף (18:16; 19:28): cf. 26:8; Ex. 14:24; Num. 21:20.
 (10) צַעֲקָה (18:21; 19:13): cf. 27:34; Ex. 3:7,9; 11:6; 12:30.
 (11) סָפַה destroy (18:23,24; 19:15,17): Num. 16:28.
 (12) חָלִילָה (18:25 twice): cf. 44:7,17; Jos. 22:29; 24:16.
 (13) נָשָׂא *forgive* (18:24,26): cf. 4:7,13; 50:17 twice; Ex. 10:17; 28:21; 32:32; 34:7; Jos. 24:19.
 (14) וָאֵל in Hiph'il (18:27,31): cf. Ex. 2:21; Jos. 7:7; 17:12.
 (15) לוֹן (19:2 twice): cf. 24:23,25; 26:11; 32:14,22; Ex. 23:18; 34:25; Num. 22:8; Jos. 8:9; but also Lev. 19:13; Deut. 16:4; 21:23.
 (16) הַשְּׂכִים (19:2,27; 20:8; 21:14; 22:3): cf.

26:31; 28:18; 32:1,6; Num. 14:40; Jos. 3:6,15; 7:16; 8:10.

(17) מִשְׁתָּה (19:3; 21:8): cf. 26:30; 29:22; 40:20.

(18) פָּצַר כֹּ... (19:3,9): cf. 33:11. Not common.

(19) שָׁלַח יָד (19:10; 22:12): cf. 3:22; 8:9; Ex. 3:20; 4:4 twice; 9:15; 22:7,10; 24:11.

(20) תִּלְאָה (19:11): cf. Ex. 7:18; see also תִּלְאָה Ex. 18:8; Num. 20:14 (both verb and noun are quite rare).

(21) חָתִי 19:12,14 twice: cf. Ex. 4:25,26.

(22) שָׁחַר (19:15): cf. 32:25,27.

(23) לִמְה־וֹה (18:13): cf. 25:22,32; 32:30; 33:15, etc.

(24) עֲבָדְךָ (= your humble servant) (18:3,5; 19:2,19): cf. 32:5,11,21; 33:5; 44:18, etc., etc.

(25) אֹיֵץ (19:15): cf. Ex. 5:13; Jos. 10:13(?); 17:15.

(26) אָמַשׁ (19:34): cf. 31:12,29.

3) WORDS FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN HEXATEUCH (which are characteristic of the Prophets in so far that they alone use broad vocabularies).

(1) פֶּת (18:5).

(2) בָּלוֹת (= old age) (18:12).

(3) עֲרֵנָה (18:12).

(4) סְנוּרִים (19:11): only again in 2 Kgs. 6:18.

(5) נִצִּיב *pillar* (19:26).

(6) קִיטּוֹר (19:28 twice): nowhere else except in Ps. twice.

(7) אֶשֶׁל (21:33).

4. STYLE OF J.

It is marked by—(1) *Freshness and variety*, even in describing similar scenes and events, as can be seen (1) in comparing the opening verses of 18 with those of 19: (a) וִירֵץ לִקְרֹאתֶם 18:1; וִיקָם לִקְרֹאתֶם 19:1; (b) וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרְצָה 18:2; וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶפֶס אֶרְצָה 19:1; (c) וַיַּעֲבֹד מֵעַל עֲבָדְךָ 18:3; וַיַּעֲבֹד מֵעַל עֲבָדְכֶם 19:2; (d) מִצּוֹת 18:6; עֲנוּת 19:3; (2) in the absence of the stereotyped style, even in 18:23–33, compare (a) how elaborate is the first and *general* petition, 18:24,25, as compared with the subsequent briefer *modifications* of it, 18:27b,28a,29 (*but second clause*), 30a,31a,32a; (b) the *alterations* of the phrases הִנֵּה נָא הוֹאֲלָתִי לְדָבָר 18:27,31, and נָא יֵחָר לְאֹדְנִי 18:30,32; while once, v. 29, he omits the introductory phrase entirely; (c) the *different words* in Yahweh's replies: וַנִּשְׁאַתִּי v. 26; לֹא אִשְׁחִית vs. 28,31,32; לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה vs. 29,30.

* As heretofore, all JE words will be considered under J, unless they occur *first* in E passages.

2) *Descriptive touches*, as seen (1) in designations of the *time of day*: (a) כחם השמש יצא 18:1; (b) בערב 19:1; (c) וכמו השחר עלה 19:15; (d) השמש יצא 19:23; (e) וישכם אברהם בבקר 19:23; (2) in the use of *circumstantial clauses*, as (a) 'והוא יושב וכו' 18:1; (b) והוא עמד 18:8; (c) ושרה שמעת 18:10; (d) ולוט 18:10; (e) וארני זקן 18:12; (f) ואברהם הלך 18:16; (g) וישב 19:1; (h) טרם ישכבו 19:4; (i) והדלת סגור 19:6; (j) ואת הדלת סגור 19:10; (3) in the employment of *emphatic repetition*, as (a) 18:24, "for the sake of the fifty, etc.;" (b) 19:4, "men of the city, *men of Sodom*;" (c) 19:24b, "brimstone and fire, from Yahweh from heaven."

3) *Vividness*. (1) Study the picture of hospitality presented in Abraham's treatment of his guests: (a) he runs to meet them, 18:2; (b) he entreats them (אל-נא), as a personal favor to him ('חן וכו'), not to pass by him, 18:3; (c) they are asked to recline under a tree, 18:5; (d) he makes them feel that they will not be a burden to him, "I will fetch a morsel of bread to stay your hearts," while intending to make a banquet; (e) he prepares the meal with all possible speed, "Abraham *hastens* to Sarah, and tells her to make ready quickly. He runs to the herd...and his servant makes haste to dress the calf," 18:6,7; (f) everything is done from a *full hand*; Sarah is to take *three seahs* (= 75 + lbs.) of fine flour (no three men, or even *angels*, could consume so much in one meal); "he takes a whole calf," 18:6b,7b; (g) he waits on them in person, 18:8b. (2) Abraham's plea for doomed Sodom is *terribly earnest*: (a) he appeals to God's justice: "Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked?" "Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" (vs. 23,25); (b) he humbles himself now that he is asking a favor (which is in touching contrast to his customary familiarity with Yahweh). (c) But as his request is granted, he *persists* till he comes down to ten. (3) We have a most *graphic* description of a *mob*: The entire population of Sodom, young and old, surround Lot's house; they cry out to him, "Where are the men who have come to thee to-night? bring them out to us, that we may abuse them," etc. (4) Not less *picturesque* is the rescue of Lot's family by the angels. (5) Note the master-touch in vs. 27,28: Abraham returns to the spot where he entreated God's mercy, and seriously surveys the plain; but he sees it is all turned into smoke.

4) *Stories*. The entire *section* is a collection of stories: (1) angels' visit to Abraham; (2) attitude of Sodomites towards strangers; (3) Lot rescued; (4) the fate of his wife; (5) Lot's daughters in the cave.

5) *Anthropomorphism*. (1) God and two angels pay Abraham a visit; (2) they all look like ordinary men; (3) they eat a dinner; (4) Yahweh disputes with Sarah about her laughing: she says "I did not;" he insists "You did;" (5) Abraham's bargaining for Sodom; (6) Yahweh cannot conceal anything from Abraham, since the latter is to become great, 19:17,18; (7) Yahweh *goes down* to Sodom to inspect its condition, 18:21; (8) human-like action of the angels in

Sodom; (9) Lot and his family are instructed "not to look back," and his wife actually loses her life for so doing, because Yahweh does not wish man to see His operations (cf. 2:21).

6) *Religious instruction* (= *prophecy*). (1) Compare God's nearness to, and interest in, human affairs. (2) The truly good man prays and pleads even for the most degraded sinners. (3) God accepts the prayers of the righteous. (4) Lot is saved for his goodness; Sodom perishes in her wickedness. (5) God's judgments are on the side of mercy; he would pardon the whole place for ten good men.

7) *Puns*, as seen in (1) **צֶעַר**, because **מִצֶּעַר**, 19:22b; (2) **מוֹאֵב**, because **אֵב** + **מִי** or **מֵאֵב**; (3) **בְּנֵי-עֻז**, because **בְּנֵי-עֻמִּי**.

C. Element of E.

1. VERSES.

20 [except v. 18, and **וְעַבְדִּים וְשִׁפְחוֹת** in 14 = R; so K. and S.]; 21:6, 8-21, 22-32a (so K. and S.; Well., also 2a, 7, 33 = E; Bud., Kuen., Kitt., throw out only 6b; Del., also 7 = E); 22:1, 2*, 3-10, 11*, 12, 13, 14*, 19 [15-18 = R] (Kitt., 14-18 = R, who got it from J; he says nothing about 19; Well., 20-24 also = E; K. and S., 14 = R).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"..... From there Abraham moves to the South Land, and takes up his abode in Gerar. He introduces Sarah as a sister, and King Abimelech takes her to his court. God informs the king, in a *dream*, that she is a married woman, and commands him to restore her to her husband, who is a prophet and will pray for him. Abimelech sends for Abraham, and reproaches him for his act of deception. Abraham offers, as an excuse, self-defense, and also the fact that Sarah is a half-sister of his. Abimelech not only restores Sarah, but gives handsome presents to Abraham, and invites him to make his home wherever he pleases. At the prayer of Abraham, Abimelech and his household are restored. [At Isaac's birth] Sarah says, God has made her a laughing-stock; all who hear (of her giving birth to a child) will laugh. (This probably suggested the name Isaac.) When the child is weaned, Abraham makes a great feast. Ishmael makes sport; at Sarah's request, Abraham banishes the boy and his mother. He is promised, however, that while Isaac shall be his seed, Ishmael will become a nation. The mother, with the child in her arms, wanders in the desert of Beer-sheba; the water fails. In despair, she drops him beside a shrub and sits at a distance because she cannot see him die. An angel calls encouragingly; God points out to her a well of water. She relieves his thirst and he lives. God watches over the boy; he becomes a great hunter, dwells in the wilderness of Paran and marries a wife from Egypt.

"Abimelech seeks an alliance with Abraham; the latter reproves the former because of a certain well which had been violently taken away. After a denial on

the part of Abimelech, the covenant is entered into. The place is called Beer-sheba, the well of the oath. Abimelech then returns to Philistia.

"God commands Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, his only son, on a mountain in Moriah. Abraham immediately sets out, and reaches the place within three days. The altar being prepared, and Isaac bound, he proceeds to offer him as a sacrifice. But an angel calls down from heaven and informs him that it was only a trial of his faith. Abraham then espies a ram caught by its horns in a bush; this he offers up instead of his son. He, with his attendants, returns to Beer-sheba."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.*

- (1) אֲנִכִּי (20:6; 21:26).
- (2) עַל-כֵּן (20:6; 21:31).
- (3) רֶק (20:11).
- (4) אֲהַשְׁכִּים בְּכֶקֶר (20:8; 21:14; 22:3).
- (5) גִּרְלָה (21:8, 20).
- (6) יֶלֶד (21:8, 14, 15, 16).
- (7) גִּרֶשׁ (21:10).
- (8) הוֹכִיחַ (20:16; 21:25).
- (9) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (21:12; 22:18).
- (10) עַל אֲדוּת (21:11, 25).
- (11) כָּרַת בְּרִית (21:27, 32a).
- (12) שִׁיחַ (21:15, 16).
- (13) פָּקַח (21:19).
- (14) עֹלָה to sacrifice (22:2).
- (15) עֹלָה (22:2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 13).
- (16) מִזְבֵּחַ (22:9 twice).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אָרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב (20:1): cf. 24:62; Num. 13:29; Jos. 15:19; Jud. 1:15).
- (2) אֱלֹהִים (20:3, 6, 11, 13, 17; 21:6, 12, 17 thrice, 19, 20, 22, 23; 22:1, 3, 8, 9, 12): no special references are required.
- (3) חֲלוֹם vision, revelation (20:3): it is exclusively used in E, † outside of Dt.
- (4) גַּם + personal pronoun ‡ (20:5, 6 twice; 21:26 twice).

- (5) לֵב (for לֵב) (20:5, 6): cf. 31:26; Ex. 14:5; Jos. 7:5; 14:7; but also in Dt. many times, and also in Chron.
- (6) ... לֵב permit (20:6): cf. 31:7; Ex. 3:19; 5:7; Num. 12:23; 20:21; 21:23; 22:13.
- (7) הִתְפַּלֵּל (20:7, 17): cf. Num. 11:2; 21:7.
- (8) תַּעֲרָה (20:13; 21:14): cf. 27:15; Ex. 23:4.
- (9) אָמַר (for שָׁפַחַה) (20:17; 21:10 twice, 12, 13): cf. 30:3; 31:33; Ex. 2:5; 20:17; 21:7, 20, 26, 27, 32; 23:12; but also Ex. 20:10 (= P); Lev. 25:6, 44; and often in Dt.
- (10) רַע בְּעֵינַי (21:11, 12): cf. 28:8; 38:7, 10; 48:17; Ex. 21:8; Num. 22:34; 32:13.
- (11) אֱלֹהִים עִם (21:22): cf. 28:20; 48:21; Ex. 18:19.
- (12) חִפְּרִי (21:30): cf. 26:15, 18 twice, 19, 21, 22, 32; Ex. 7:24; Num. 21:18.

3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) אָמַר אֵל, or אָמַר לֵב say concerning (20:2, 13).
- (2) נִקְיוֹן (20:5).
- (3) אָמְנָה (20:12): cf. Jos. 7:20.
- (4) חֲמַת (21:14, 15, 19).
- (5) מִטְחָוִי (21:16).
- (6) רֵבָה (21:20).
- (7) נִין וְנָכַר (21:23).

4. STYLE.

Before taking up in detail the characteristics of E's style, the following anticipatory remarks deserve notice: (1) Being *prophetic*, we may expect him to be in the main like J; (2) with P, however, he has almost nothing in com-

* J and E, both being *prophetic*, have a great deal in common in vocabulary as well as in style. Hence many words hitherto considered as J, are really JE, and may be called *here* OLD, though E, as such, appears here for the first time.

† See J, this section.

‡ See under "special characteristics" of this author, following page.

§ Cf. J using גַּם-הוּא quite frequently.

mon; his use of אֱלֹהִים* is only apparently like P, for E continues to use this term for deity throughout his narrative, while P would use יהוה even in Genesis, were it not for the question of consistency with his statement in 6:3; (3) the prophetic traits are often more intensely exhibited in E than in J; (4) this writer's material is fragmentary, as we find it, there being no complete or continuous story,—a fact due, in large part, to the similarity of his material to that of J, the two being easily blended, or one substituted for the other: (5) the following special characteristics have been noted and may be stated in general terms by way of introduction: (a) the exclusive use of אֱלֹהִים; (b) the occasional use of the plural form of the verb with the name of God (cf. 20:12; 35:7); (c) the frequent occurrence of dreams, especially as revelations from God (cf. 20:3,6; 28:12; 31:10,11,24; 37:5-8,9,10; 40:9-11,16,17; 41:1-7); (d) frequent reference to angels, as God's representatives, "calling down from heaven" (21:17; 22:11); (e) repetition of proper names in calling (cf. 22:11; Ex. 3:4); (f) statements respecting three days' journey (cf. 22:4; Ex. 3:18; 8:23; 15:22; Num. 18:33); (g) references to the existence of "strange gods" in the families of the patriarchs (cf. 31:19,24; 35:4; Josh. 24:2); (h) the special interest exhibited in places and traditions of northern as over against southern Israel.

1) He is interested in *geography* and *archæology*.† (1) Abraham dwells *between Kadesh and Shur*, 20:1. (2) Hagar wanders in the *desert of Beer-sheba*, 21:14. (3) Ishmael makes his abode in the *desert of Paran*, 21:21. (4) His wife is from *Egypt*, 21:21. (5) Origin of the name "Beer-sheba," 21:31.

2) He is *vivid* and *descriptive*,† as seen (1) in his method of presenting material by means of conversation: (a) God and Abimelech, 20:3-7, in which four points are indirectly brought out; (a) details of the way in which Abimelech came to take Sarah, 20:5; (β) the testimony of God himself to Abimelech's innocence, 20:6; (γ) the representation of Abraham as a *prophet*, 20:7a; (δ) God's threat that he will *avenge* Abraham, if his wife is not returned, 20:3b,7b. (b) Abimelech and Abraham, 20:9-13, informing us of (a) Abraham's motive, v. 11; (β) why she was called sister rather than something else, v. 12; (γ) their standing agreement as to the mode of deception, v. 13. (c) Abimelech and Abraham's alliance, 21:22-30, disclosing (a) Abraham's *prosperity*, v. 22b; (β) that Abimelech's servants, without his knowledge, robbed Abraham of a well, vs. 25,26. (d) *Minor talk*: (a) Abimelech's *offers* to Abraham and Sarah, 20:15,16; (β) Sarah asking Abraham to banish Hagar and her son, 21:10; (γ) God's instruction on this point, 21:12; (δ) Angel to Hagar, 21:17b,18; (ε) God directing to sacrifice Isaac, 22:2; (ζ) Abraham leaving his servants behind, 22:5; (η) Isaac and Abraham in reference to the victim, 22:7,8; (θ) angel to Abraham, 22:12. (2) In the use of *circumstantial clauses*: (a) "for she is a man's wife," 20:3; (b) "having done deeds unto

* See p. 265, and cf. p. 22 (No. 1 of this vol.).

† It will be noticed that these headings are the same as under J.

me that ought not to be done," 20:9b; (c) "putting it on her shoulder, etc.," 21:14; (d) "since neither didst thou tell me, neither yet heard I of it, etc.," 21:26b; (e) "while I and the boy, etc.," 22:5; (f) "seeing thou hast not withheld, etc.," 22:12; (g) "caught in the thicket by its horns," 22:13.

3) He is highly *dramatic*. (1) In not telling us all the facts at once, but keeping us in suspense till the *denouement* is fully developed, as seen (a) in omitting any motive or reason for Abraham's action in calling Sarah a sister (20:2a), that it may all be explained later (cf. vs. 11,13); (b) in not assigning any reason for Abimelech's taking Sarah to his court, the reader being allowed to infer, from v. 11b, that her beauty must have been so great as to endanger her husband's life; (c) in withholding the result of Abraham's trial till we reach v. 12. (2) In working up toward a *climax*; note (a) in the story of Hagar's banishment (21:14-17), how our sympathies are more and more enlisted: she starts out with scanty provisions, and the child upon her shoulder; she is lost in the desert; the water fails; the unfortunate mother drops the child, and flees from the spot, that she may not see his dying agonies; but just as she breaks out in despairing tears, the angel's voice calls out from heaven; (b) in offering up Isaac, how gradually the reality of the transaction grows upon one: Abraham starts out on a journey with his son and servants; at a little distance from the appointed place he dismounts, and walks alone with Isaac; the latter is made to bear the wood that is soon to consume him; in blissful ignorance, he asks, "Where is the victim?" Abraham answers evasively, "The Lord will provide;" the spot is reached, the altar built, Isaac bound, put on the altar, the knife lifted,—and then the angel interferes. (3) In selecting a *central figure*, and grouping all the events about it, e. g., (a) in the 20th chapter, *Abraham* is the principal actor; Sarah is mentioned as the "woman" (v. 3), "the man's wife" (v. 7); it is Abraham who causes her to be taken to court (v. 2); it is because he is a prophet that she is to be returned (v. 7); the king blames him (not Sarah) for the deception and its consequences; the rewards or presents are given to Abraham; at his prayer, Abimelech's family is relieved; (b) in 21:10-21, Ishmael is the hero; Sarah wants Hagar banished; but the emphasis, after all, is on "her son," for he is not to be heir with Isaac; in the sufferings that follow "the child" is continually emphasized, and heaven itself opens rather to the innocent cry of the boy than to his mother's heart-rending tears; (c) in ch. 22, it is again *Abraham* (not Isaac, strange to say) who is the principal actor; his every movement and word are carefully recorded—from the "saddling of the ass" to the "lifting of the knife." (4) In keeping *one great theme* before him, whatever the details. The selection of characters, though apparently strange, is due only to the selection of thought. What the prophet really wants to tell us is, that God will take care of his own, whatever be their afflictions and trials. Hence the subject is Abraham, *his* troubles about Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac, and how all things "worked together for good" for him who trusted God.

4) He is *prophetic* (furnishing *religious instruction*). He *teaches* us, e. g., that (1) God is interested in human affairs; (2) He watches over those that trust in Him; (3) upright men (heathen even, 20:4,6) are providentially kept from moral evil; (4) He hears the prayer of the righteous (20:7,17); (5) He hears the cry of the innocent (21:17), and (6) provides for them even in the desert (21:19); (7) the good man is prosperous, and his favor is sought after by others (21:22, 23); (8) true faith goes calmly to its task, and attends to the minutest details of duty even when a catastrophe is impending.

5) He abounds in *stories*. The whole material (chs. 20-22) being nothing but a collection of stories.

6) He possesses certain *peculiar* characteristics*. (1) God's appearing in *dreams*, 20:3,6; (2) a *plural* verb with Elohim, 20:13; (3) angels calling down from heaven, 21:17; 22:11; (4) "three days' journey," 22:4; (5) repetition of proper name, in calling a person, 22:11.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates*. (1) Chapter 20 seems to be but a different version of 12:10-20†; the general resemblance is striking, since in both (a) Abraham represents her as a sister; (b) the motive being fear for his life; (c) Sarah is taken to a foreign court; (d) God interferes in her behalf; (e) the king as well as his entire household suffer; (f) the foreign prince blames Abraham (note the *similarity of the language*: ל' מה זאת עשית 12:18, and מה עשית לנו 20:9); (g) Sarah is then restored; (h) Abraham receives a *bonus*. (2) 21:10-21 seems to be a modification of 16:5,14, the points of contact being (a) Sarah's dislike to Hagar and her offspring (*potential* or *actual*); (b) treatment of Hagar in such a way that she leaves (*voluntarily* or *forcedly*); (c) conversation in the desert with an angel; (d) his promise that she shall have a *great future* for her son; (e) a well in the desert. (3) 21:22-31 is essentially the same as 26:26-33, since in both (a) *Abimelech* is king and *Phichol* a commander in chief; (b) they come because of the patriarch's prosperity; (c) they desire and obtain a covenant of peace; (d) the event takes place in Beer-sheba; (e) the name of the place is in some way connected with "seven."

2) *Differences*. These stories, while having resemblances enough to show that they relate to the *same event*, nevertheless vary enough to indicate their literary *independence*; note (1) in ch. 20, as compared with 12:10-20, the following differences in *details*: (a) E places Sarah in *Abimelech's* court at Gerar (20:2), J takes her to Pharaoh in Egypt (12:15); (b) according to E, the suffering or disease of the king and of his house is to prevent him from sin (18:6 in connection with 17); but J refers to it as *punishment* (12:17); (c) the king of Gerar invites Abraham to stay in his country (20:15), but Pharaoh sends him away (12:19b-20); (d) E mag-

* i. e., not in common with J.

† The consideration of 26:6-11, in this connection, will be taken up later (cf. p. 272 sq.).

nifies Abraham as *prophet* and *intercessor*; J has nothing about this. (2) The two accounts of Hagar's banishment present the following differences: (a) according to E, she is driven out (21:14); J says she was so treated that she fled (16:6); (b) according to E, she leaves Abraham's house with Ishmael on her *shoulder*; according to J, the child is still unborn; (c) in E, *Ishmael* is the *cause* (21:9); in J, *Hagar herself* is to blame; (d) in E, it is Abraham himself who sends her away (21:14); in J, her treatment is left to Sarah (16:6); (e) according to E, she is treated more humanely (21:14) than she is in J's story (16:6); (f) in E, the angel calls down from heaven (21:17); in J, he *meets her* on the road (16:7); (g) in E, she *finds* the well (21:19a); in J, she is *found at* the well (16:7,14). (3) The consideration of 21:22-31 must be deferred till we reach its *parallel*, 26:26-33; but the *principal* differences are, (a) for Abraham (in 21) *Isaac* is put (in 26), (b) different circumstance for *Beer-sheba*.

3) *Inconsistencies*. Not only is E distinct in language, style, and manner of presentation, but also his material is *incompatible* with previous accounts of both P and J. (1) As compared with P, (a) ch. 20 cannot be reconciled by any possibility of interpretation with Sarah's age as given in 17:17. That which is said here of Sarah could not possibly be spoken of a woman ninety years of age. Still further, (b) 21:14-20 is *unnatural* when compared with 16:16; 17:24,25. In these latter passages Ishmael is thirteen years of age when Isaac is promised; hence is fourteen when the latter is born. Ishmael is banished after Isaac is formally weaned (21:8-10). The feast of *weaning* did not take place before the child was three years old. Ishmael was, therefore, seventeen years of age. Now, why or how should Hagar carry such a lad on her *shoulder*? (v. 14). Why should he be so helpless when cast down under the bush? (vs. 15,16). Why should the angel instruct the exhausted mother to "lift up the boy"? (v. 18). Then (2) ch. 20 is not less out of harmony (a) with 18:11,12 (J's statement that Sarah was *very old*). It needs no elaboration; and (b) if this incident at Gerar is simply *another* event by the *same* writer as the author of 12:10-20, is it *conceivable* that Abraham, after his experience in Egypt, would repeat the same deception at Gerar, especially at a time when Sarah's *condition* was so critical? The material, then, *without reference to other considerations*, is irreconcilable with that of either P or J; it must be from a *different* source, and the argument becomes much stronger when we find that just this material, so much out of harmony with what has gone before, has linguistic peculiarities which also distinguish it from the other writers.

4) It is, however, evident that E's matter begins *very abruptly*; "And Abraham moved thence. . . ." Whence? There undoubtedly existed a full history of the patriarchs by the author. [Cf. Jos. 24:2, where the *résumé* begins with Terah.] Perhaps R did not have *all* of this story. Perhaps the early material was so similar to that of J as not to require repetition. The only thing which appears certain is that we have a new writer.

6. THEOLOGY.

1) In *general*, this author's view of God's relation to man is about midway between P's stiff superiority and J's aggravating anthropomorphism. We notice (1) God is interested in human affairs, and yet he does not "come down" to find out things; (2) he appears neither formally nor visibly, but in dreams; (3) his visits are frequent, but hardly familiar; (4) angels are employed; but instead of walking about on the highways, they "call down from heaven."

2) It is nevertheless true that his conception resembles J's more than it does P's: (1) *altars* and *sacrifices* are as old as the patriarchs; there is even the possibility of *human* sacrifice in their day. (2) God employs *natural means* (sickness, for instance, to prevent intercourse between Abimelech and Sarah). (3) He indeed reveals himself to, and is interested in, a *heathen* prince; but Abraham is his *favorite*.

3) His *monotheism* is not so strict even as that of J: (1) He uses אֱלֹהִים exclusively; (2) occasionally even with a *plural* verb.

XI. The Analysis of Gen. 24:1-28:9.

[*Subjects*: (1) Isaac courts Rebekah by proxy, and marries her; (2) Abraham and Ishmael die; (3) Esau and Jacob are born; (4) Isaac and Abimelech; (5) Jacob gets Esau's blessing by deceit; (6) Jacob sent to Paddan.]

A. Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:7-11a, 12-17, 19, 20 . . . 26b; 26:34sq.; 27:46 (Kuen., Del., K. and S. = R); 28:1-9.

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Abraham, having completed 175 years, dies, and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah, near Sarah. God's blessing is then transferred to Isaac. [Ishmael having raised up twelve princes (all of whom are given by name), passes away at the age of 137.] When forty years of age, Isaac marries Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel from Paddan-aram; and he is sixty years old, when they (Esau and Jacob*) are born. Esau, at *forty*, marries two Hittite women, who are a source of displeasure to Isaac and Rebekah. Isaac accordingly instructs Jacob not to take a wife 'from the daughters of Canaan,' but to go to Paddan-aram and marry one of Laban's daughters. 'And thus *El-Shaddai* will bless thee and make thee an assembly of nations; and Abraham's blessing will be transferred unto thee and thy seed.' Jacob leaves, as directed, for Paddan-aram. Esau, seeing how dissatisfied Isaac is with Canaanitish women, takes, in addition to his wives, a daughter of Ishmael."

* The names have to be supplied from a different account which R has inserted.

3. LANGUAGE OF P.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי (25:7,17).
 (2) נָוֶע (25:8,17).
 (3) מַעֲרַת-הַמַּכְפֶּלֶה (25:9).
 (4) תִּלְדָּת (25:12,13,19).
 (5) הוֹלִיד (25:19).
 (6) אֵל שָׂרִי (28:3).
 (7) פֶּרֶה (28:3).
 (8) רִבָּה (28:3).
 (9) אֶרֶץ מִגְרִיךְ (28:4).
 (10) אֱלֹהִים (28:4).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) הָאֶסֶף אֶל עַמִּי* (25:8,17): cf. 35:29; 49:29, 33; Num. 20:24,26; 27:13; Deut. 32:50.
 (2) אַחֲרֵי מוֹת (25:11): cf. Lev. 16:11; Num. 35:28; Jos. 1:1 (?); 1 Chr. 2:24; 2 Chr. 22:4; 24:17; 25:25. But also Gen. 26:18; Jud. 1:1; Ruth 2:11; 2 Sam. 1:1; 1 Kgs. 11:40; 2 Kgs. 1:1; 14:17.
 (3) אֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת (25:13,16): cf. 36:10,40; 46:8; Ex. 1:1; 6:16; Num. 1:5; 3:2,3,18; 13:4,16; 27:1; 34:17,18; Jos. 17:3; 1 Chr. 6:2; 8:33; 9:44; 14:4.
 (4) פָּרָן אֲרָם (for נַהֲרִים אֲרָם) (25:20; 28:2,5,6,7).

4. STYLE.

It is—(1) *Numerical*, as seen (1) in the hundred and three score and fifteen years of Abraham's life, 25:7; (2) twelve princes, 25:16; (3) the years of Ishmael were 137, 25:17; (4) Isaac was sixty years old, etc., 25:26b; (5) Isaac marries at forty, 25:20; (6) Esau marries at forty, 26:34.

(2) *Systematic*, as seen (1) The *toledoth* of Ishmael, 25:12 (this, it will be remembered, is the *seventh* of a ten-series); (2) The *toledoth* of Isaac, 25:19 (the *eighth* in the series).

(3) *Stereotyped*. Note the phrases (1) שְׁנֵי חַיִּי, 25:7,17; (2) וַיָּגֻעַ וַיָּמָת, 25:8,17; (3) וַיֵּלֶד וַיִּלְדָּת, 25:12,19; (4) לֹא לְאִשָּׁה, 25:20; 28:9 [cf. 16:3].

(4) *Verbose and repetitious*. (1) "These are the days of the years of the life . . . which he lived," 25:7; (2) שָׁנָה repeated with each of connected numerals, 25:7,17; (3) after having given us a *whole chapter* (23) about the legal transaction of the "cave in Machpelah," he tells the story over again in 25:9b, 10; (4) in describing a woman, he not only tells us who her father is, but often also whose sister she is, 25:20; 28:9; (5) that we may be certain of a person's death, he describes it thus: "And he gave up the ghost, and died. . . and was gathered to his people," 25:8,17; (6) to refresh our memory, he tells us that "Ishmael was the son of Abraham, whom Hagar, the Egyptian, Sarah's servant, bore unto Abraham," 25:12; (7) the customary heading, "and these are the generations of Ishmael," is strengthened by, "and these are the names of the children of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations," and finally described by "these are the children of Ishmael, and these are their names," 25:12,13,16; (8) all that is really necessary in his material is: six words (out of thirteen) in 25:7; four words (out of ten) in vs. 8,9a,11a; first three words (out of twelve) in vs. 12,13b,14,15; eight words (out of fifteen) in 17; first three words (out of nine) in vs. 19,20a, [a verse which R omitted], 26b; 26:34sq.; six words in 27:46a, and six words in 27:46b (or twelve out of twenty-one); 28:1-5a,8,9 (omitting the last clause); that is, only fifteen verses out of twenty-five.

* I myself should not call it *characteristic* of P.

5) *Cold and lifeless.* Nothing but a *register* of deaths, births and marriages, as follows: (1) deaths; (a) Abraham's, 25:7-10; (b) Ishmael's, 25:17; (2) births; (a) Ishmael's twelve children, 25:12-15; (b) Isaac's two children; (3) marriages; (a) Isaac and Rebekah, 25:20; (b) Esau with Judith and Basemath, 26:34; (c) Jacob goes to find a wife, 28:1-5; (d) Esau with Mahalath, 28:6-9.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Duplicates.* (1) Isaac bestows his blessing on Jacob (JE = 27:1-40; P = 28:1a,3sq.); (2) Jacob is sent away by his parents to Rebekah's people (JE = 27:41-45; P = 27:46; 28:1b,2,5).

2) *Differences.* As usual, P knows nothing of *family difficulties*. (1) Jacob gets his blessing simply because he leaves home; there is no cheating or rivalry between him and Esau. (2) Jacob leaves home simply because his parents do not wish him to marry in the neighborhood; no hatred on the part of Esau, no fear on Jacob's part.

3) *Omissions.* We find nothing in JE about (1) Abraham's death, (2) Sarah's death, (3) Ishmael's death. Some critics* think the *first*, at least, existed, but was omitted by R.

6. THEOLOGY.

This section of P contains no material of a theological nature.

B. Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:5,11b,18a (Well., Kuen., Kitt., 25:1-6,11b; Del., 25:1-6,18,11b; K. and S., 1-5, 11b, 18 to **מְצָרִים**); 24 [except 62, 67b and **שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ** in 67a = R] (Well., Kuen., K. and S., give also 62 and 67b [except **אִמּוֹ** = **אֲבִיו**], claiming that there existed an account of Abraham's death immediately after v. 62. They also leave this chapter *before* 25, in its natural place. So also Del., who, however, omits 67b); 26:1b, first three words of 2,3a,7-14,16sq.,19-33 [first three words of 1,2 beginning with **וַיֹּאמֶר**, 6 = E; 3b-5 = R^d; **אֲבִיהֶם... מְלָכָר** in 1a,15,18 = R] (Well., 1a,15,18 = R^d[JE]; 2-5 = R^d; Kuen., 1a,3b-5 = R^d; 15,18 = R^d[JE]; Del., 26:1-33* = J, worked over by R, expanded by D²(R^d) in vs. 2-5, and supplemented by R from E in vs. 6-33, specifically in 6,26, and 32; Kitt., 7sq.,26,28-33 = R from E(?); 15,18 = R; K and S., **אֲבִיהֶם... מְלָכָר** in vs. 1,2b,3b-5,15, 18 = R; otherwise all these critics assign 26:1-33 to J); 25:21-34 [except 26c = P², and traces of E in 25,27] (Well., 24-26ab = E(?); Kuen., Bud., K. and S., all agree with Dill.; Del., 24-26ab,27-34 *may be* E or J); 27:1-45 [= JE; J is found, though not separable in (7),15,(20),24-27,30a to **אֶת יַעֲקֹב**, 35-38,44b or 45a, ,

* See Dill., *Gen.*, 5th ed., p. 302, under 66sq.

etc. See *E* below] (Well., J apparent in 7,20,24-27,30a,33sq.; so Del., adding a trace of J in 46; so Kitt., adding 15 in part, 29b,35-38,45, but omitting 33sq.; K. and S., 1a,2-4a,5-10,14sq.,17,18a,20,24-27, last three words in 28,29b-32 [except 30 אָבִי... אֶךְ וְיָהִי], 35-39a,40-43,45 = J; all the rest = E, except 46 = R).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Abraham gives all his property to Isaac, who settles down at Beer-lahai-roi. Being old and prosperous, Abraham adjures his steward not to take a wife for Isaac from the Canaanites, but from his own family. The servant takes a solemn oath to comply with these conditions, and sets out for Aram-naharaim, to the city of Nahor (Abraham's brother). Then follows a long and detailed description of the interview with Rebekah and her return with the servant to become Isaac's wife. Isaac takes her to the house and marries her. He moves to Gerar, where Yahweh appears to him and renews his covenant made with Abraham. Rebekah he represents as a sister, fearing lest the people may kill him because of her beauty. After some days, Abimelech, the king of Gerar, notices that the relations between Isaac and Rebekah are too familiar to be merely fraternal. He reproves him for a misrepresentation which might have led to sinful consequences; but issues a proclamation to his people to let this man and wife alone. Isaac devotes himself to agriculture, and is so successful that he arouses the jealousy of the king. He is thus compelled to move to the valley of Gerar, where his servants find a spring; the shepherds of Gerar, however, contest their right to its use. The same thing is repeated at their second attempt to procure water; but when the third well is dug there is no trouble. From there Isaac goes to Beer-sheba, where Yahweh appears and comforts him; he builds an altar. King Abimelech and his commander-in-chief, Phichol, come to him, and desire to make an alliance with him, which he accepts. Then his servants find a well which he calls *Shebah*; hence the name of the place, Beer-sheba. Rebekah being childless, Isaac prays to Yahweh, who hears him, and Rebekah conceives. Twins are to be born, who will continually strive for supremacy, but the elder will be subject to the younger. In the fullness of time, the first child comes out red and hairy, and they call it Esau; the other comes out holding his brother by the *heel*, hence his name Jacob. As they grew up, Esau became a hunter; while Jacob was a shepherd. Isaac loved Esau, but Rebekah preferred Jacob.

"Once, when Jacob was boiling pottage, Esau comes in from the chase very tired, and requests some. Jacob says, 'Sell me your birthright for it.' Esau replies, 'I am at the point to die; what profit shall the birthright do to me?' Jacob makes the bargain sure by an oath, and gives the pottage to his brother, who, having satisfied his appetite, departs, despising his birthright."*

* Ch. 27 will be considered by itself, p. 273sq.

3. LANGUAGE OF JE,* OR J.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) בא בימים (24:1).
 (2) יהוה (24:1,3,7,12,21,26,27 twice, 31,34,40,42,44, 48 twice, 50,51,52,56; 25:21,22,23; 26:2,12,22,24,25, 28,29; 27:7,20,27).
 (3) שים (24:2,9,33,47; 27:37).
 (4) נא (24:2,12,14,17,23,42,43,45; 25:30; 26:28; 27:2,3,9,19,21,26).
 (5) ארץ ומולדת (24:4,7).
 (6) אנכי (24:3,13,24,27,34,37,42,43; 25:22,30,32; 26:24 twice; 27:19).
 (7) טרם (24:15,45; 27:4,33).
 (8) ידע (= sexual intercourse) (24:16).
 (9) אולי (24:5,39; 27:12).
 (10) פן (24:6; 26:7,9).
 (11) רק (24:9; 26:29).
 (12) לקראת* (24:17,65).
 (13) לון (24:23,25,54).
 (14) עמד על (24:30).
 (15) בחוץ (24:31).
 (16) הוכיח (24:14,44).
 (17) מהר (24:18,46; 27:20).
 (18) נשא ענים (24:63,64).
 (19) אהל (24:67; 25:27; 26:25).
 (20) ילד (with father) (25:3).
 (21) ותהר (25:21).
 (22) שקף (26:8).
 (23) ויעתק משם (26:22).
 (24) בעבור (26:24; 27:4,10,19,31).
 (25) מזבח (24:25).
 (26) כרת ברית (26:28).
 (27) עתה (26:29; 27:3,8,36,43).
 (28) השכם בבקר (26:31).
 (29) על-כן (25:30; 26:33).
 (30) שמע בקול (27:8,13,43).
 (31) אך (27:13,30).
 (32) גם + pers. pron. (27:31,34,38).
 (33) צעקה (27:34).
 (34) מקנה (26:14 twice).
 (35) עפר (26:15).
 (36) חפר (26:15,18 twice, 19,21,22,32).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) השמר לך (24:6): cf. 31:24,29; Ex. 10:28; 19:12; 34:12; and often in Deut.
 (2) שכם (for כתף) (24:15,45): cf. 9:23; 21:14; 48:22; 49:15; Ex. 12:34.
 (3) טבת מראה (24:16; 26:7).

- (4) הצליח (24:21,40,42,56): cf. 39:2,3,23.
 (5) עשה חסד (24:12,14,49): cf. 40:14; 47:29; Ex. 20:6; 34:6,7.
 (6) חסד ואמת (24:27,49): cf. 47:29; Ex. 34:6.
 (7) קדר והשתחוה (24:26,48): cf. 43:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8.
 (8) עתר (25:21): cf. Ex. 8:4,5,24,25,26; 9:28; 10:10,17.
 (9) לאם (25:23 thrice; 27:29).
 (10) מרוע (26:27): cf. 40:7; Ex. 2:18; 3:3; 5:14; 18:14; Jos. 17:14.
 (11) גרי עוים (26:9,16): cf. 38:17,20,23; Ex. 23:19; 34:26.
 (12) כשש (27:12,21,22): cf. 31:34,37; Ex. 10:21.
 (13) תירש (27:28,36): cf. Num. 18:12.
 (14) שטם (27:41): cf. 49:23; 50:15.
 (15) שכל (27:45): cf. 31:38; 42:36; 43:14 twice; Ex. 23:26.
 (16) זָה (used adverbially) (25:22,32; 27:20,21, 24,36).
 (17) אחר (as verb) (24:56): cf. 32:5; 34:19; Ex. 22:28.

3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) הקרה (24:12; 27:20).
 (2) נמא (24:17).
 (3) משתאה (24:21).
 (4) מנרנות (24:53).
 (5) הָלָהָה (24:65).
 (6) צעירָה (24:65).
 (7) עָנַף (25:29,30).
 (8) הלעיט (25:30).
 (9) שָׁעָרִים (26:12).
 (10) עֲבָדָה (26:14).
 (11) סתם (26:15,18).
 (12) גֶּשֶׁק (26:20).
 (13) תָּלִיךְ (27:3).
 (14) מטעמים (27:4,7,9,17).
 (15) מתעתע (27:12).
 (16) חֲמֻלָּה (27:15).
 (17) חֲלָקָה (27:16).
 (18) משמני (27:28,39).
 (19) יִפְּאֹא (27:33,37).
 (20) תָּרִיד (27:40).
 (21) פָּרַק (27:40).
 (22) וַיִּבְרַךְ (24:11).
 (23) אצלת (27:36).
 (24) כמרמה (27:35): cf. 34:13.

* E being doubtful and brief in this section, the vocabularies of JE are considered together.

4. STYLE OF JE.

It is—1) *Free and flowing*. (1) There is not found a formal statement in the entire narrative, although the *aim*, of course, is the same as that of P, viz., to describe the *origin* of Jacob and Esau and their *relation* one to another. We may note (a) how gracefully Rebekah is introduced (ch. 24); (b) how the whole future history of Israel and Edom is summed up in the few words of the oracle (25:23); (c) how the character of the two boys is depicted in a story (25:29–34); (d) how thrilling is the manner in which Jacob obtains his blessing; and (e) how, after all, this is only the writer's method of sending him to Aram. (2) There is order, to be sure, in this material, but *no system*. We feel from the very start (25:23) that Jacob is the hero; still Esau is kept in sight. He appears as a side-light all along, and is at last brought into reconciliation with his brother (32:4sq.). (3) The transition from one topic to another is easy, scarcely noticeable; e. g., (a) ch. 24 begins with Abraham, but we are soon lost in Isaac's courtship by proxy; (b) a step changes Rebekah's girlhood into maternity, and thus, naturally enough, we are introduced to Jacob, the most important of all the patriarchs.

2) *Full of stories*. These may merely be indicated: (1) Abraham's servant and Rebekah (24); (2) Rebekah's hard maternity (25:21–23); (3) Esau and Jacob as children (25:24–28); (4) Jacob gets the birthright (25:29–34); (5) Rebekah in Gerar* (26:6–11); (6) Isaac's experiences in Philistia (26:12–33); (7) Jacob obtains the blessing (27:1–40); (8) his flight to Laban (27:41–45).

3) *Dramatic, poetic, picturesque*. Only a few out of many points may be cited: (1) the presentation of material through conversation; e. g., (a) Abraham's ideas on *intermarriage*, as well as his utter separation from his birthplace, could not be more emphatically expressed than in the solemn talk between him and his servant (24:2–9); (b) the servant's talk; his prayerful soliloquy, his inquiries of Rebekah, and her artless answers, his direct and pointed story to her parents; (c) the business-like speech of Laban and Bethuel, Laban's welcome (v. 31), the acceptance of the proposal (vs. 50, 51), the effort to detain Rebekah (vs. 55–58); (d) Jacob's bargain with Esau (25:29–32); (e) the account of the blessing, Isaac and Esau (27:1–4), Rebekah and Jacob (vs. 6–13), Jacob and Isaac (vs. 19–21), Esau and Isaac (vs. 31–40), Rebekah's last words to Jacob (vs. 42–45). (2) *Human nature* depicted: (a) The servant in his prayer shows a calm confidence that Yahweh will "act kindly" to his master; (b) as soon as he learns the parentage of the girl he feels confident of success, and thanks Yahweh; (c) Laban's hospitality, unbounded—but due to the rich character of the gifts bestowed upon his sister; (d) business before pleasure; for the servant refuses to eat till he has told his errand; (e) the *servant's* story is a masterpiece of simplicity and shrewd-

* Here the order of the chapter is followed.

ness: he touches but briefly on salient points, but is careful to tell just what would attract his listeners, and to omit what would arouse their prejudice or ridicule. Note how he expands Abraham's possessions; "flocks and cattle, and silver and gold, men-servants, maid-servants, and camels and asses" (24:35); Isaac's providential birth, "אָחֵרִי זְקֵנָה" (v. 36); Abraham speaks of his "land and birthplace" (v. 4); the servant invariably speaks of the closer family ties, "my family and my father's house" (v. 38); he *omits* the injunction "not to take Isaac back;" (f) the rough humor of Esau is characteristic: "I am going to die anyway, what profit shall the birthright do to me?" (25:32); (g) the sly inventiveness of Rebekah. (3) *Descriptive touches*: (a) *time of day*; cf. "at the time of evening" (24:11); "in the morning" (24:54); "at the even-tide" (24:63); "the same night" (26:24); "they arose early in the morning" (26:31); (b) *manner of action*, as seen in "let down thy pitcher that I may drink" (24:14); "with her pitcher on her shoulder" (24:15); "she let down her pitcher upon her hand" (24:18); "she emptied her pitcher and ran again" (24:20); "he stood by the camels at the fountain" (24:30); "he ungirded the camels, and gave, etc." (24:32); "I put the ring upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands" (24:47); "that I may turn to the right hand or to the left" (24:49); "he lifted up his eyes and saw" (24:63,64); "looked out at a window" (26:8); "take thy weapons...go out to the field, and take me venison" (27:3); "lifted up his voice and wept" (27:38). (4) *Dramatic coincidences*: "Before he had done speaking, Rebekah came out" (24:15); Isaac is out in the field, when Rebekah arrives (24:63); Rebekah happens to hear Isaac's instructions to Esau (27:5); Jacob was yet scarcely gone out, when Esau came (27:30). (5) *Words and actions indicative of character*: (a) the faithfulness of Abraham's servant is seen in his prayer (24:12-14); his thankfulness to God for his success (24:26,27,52); his desire to return immediately (24:54,56); (b) the character of Rebekah is clearly presented: she is kindly, offering her service to a stranger (24:18,19); *active*, for she hastens and runs (24:18, 20); *direct and explicit*, in answering questions (24:24,25,58); *modest*, veiling her face when first meeting Isaac (24:65b); *pious*, going to seek God in trouble (25:22b); *ingenious*, looking for every favorable opening for her favorite son (27: 6-10; 11,15,16; 42-45).

4) Characterized by *puns*. (1) Esau, because hairy; (2) Jacob, because holding the heel; (3) Edom, because of the *red* pottage; (4) יִצְחָק מִצְחָק (26:8); (5) Rehoboth, because God made broad (26:22); (6) Esek, because they *had trouble* with him (26:20); (7) Beer-sheba, because of the "seven." (8) Esau bitterly remarks that "Jacob is well named, because he had supplanted him" (27:36).

5) *Prophetic*. (1) God guides the servant in making a right choice of the woman who is to be Israel's mother; (2) Abraham had faith to believe that God would do so; (3) readiness to serve is the sure sign of a right heart; (4) Isaac's prayer is answered; (5) God watches over Isaac and Rebekah, though they have

foolishly exposed themselves to danger; (6) Isaac prospers in spite of trouble with the Philistines, because Yahweh is with him; (7) in spite of imperfections of the patriarchs, God works out his great plans through them.

5. MATERIAL.

1) Under J, as such, we have to consider only ch. 26, of which vs. 6-11 are claimed to be a duplicate not only of ch. 20 (= E), but also of 12:10-20 (= J). (1) In a comparison with ch. 20, the points of *contact* are, (a) the *place*, *Gerar*; (b) the *king*, *Abimelech*; (c) a *patriarch* representing his *wife* as a *sister*; (d) because of fear for his life on account of his wife's beauty; (e) Abimelech, on discovering the deception, blames the patriarch for his conduct; (f) the patriarch explains that he acted in self-defense. (2) Noticeable *differences* are, (a) according to E it is Abraham and Sarah; according to J, Isaac and Rebekah; (b) E makes the danger of the woman *actual*; J, only *possible*; (c) according to E, Abimelech learns the fact of her true relation to the patriarch by God's appearing in a *dream*; but in J he finds it out *casually*, by looking through the window; (d) consistently enough, J omits the part about *presents* given to the patriarch, the infliction of disease on the king and household, and the prayer of the patriarch for their restoration.

2) When compared with J's other account, (1) few and feeble points of contact are to be noticed, as (a) a patriarch and wife sojourn in a strange land; (b) they represent themselves as brother and sister; (c) the king of the land, on learning the deceit, censures the husband, who pleads self-defense as an excuse. (2) The points of divergence, on the other hand, are many and marked: (a) in ch. 26, the *place* is Gerar in Philistia; in 12, *Egypt*; (b) *here* it is Rebekah and Isaac; *there*, Sarah and Abraham; (c) *here* the woman is never separated from her husband; *there* she is actually taken to the Egyptian court; (d) Pharaoh discovers the reality by plagues; Abimelech, by observation; (e) the Egyptian naturally makes recompense; the Philistine has no occasion to do this; (f) Pharaoh sends the deceitful couple out of his borders; Abimelech issues a proclamation "not to touch the man and his wife."*

3) The following *remarks* may be included here: (1) It is highly improbable that the three accounts before us are of three different events; for it is unreasonable to suppose that Abraham would repeat such a disastrous experiment, or that Isaac would not have profited by his father's double experience. (2) The questions which relate to the age of the venerable women concerned in the stories, increase the difficulties enormously. (3) It will be noticed that J's stories have practically nothing more in common than the palming off a wife for a sister; while E's anecdote closely resembles both of the others. In other words, E is the connecting link: from the story of Rebekah and Abimelech (ch. 26) there was

* Isaac is dismissed from Gerar, but *later* and for a *different cause* (26:16).

developed the story of Sarah and Abimelech (ch. 20), which in turn became that of Sarah and Pharaoh (ch. 12). (4) It is well to remember that even if *Moses* was the author of these stories, they are not the *records* of an eye-witness, but received traditions, which, passing from mouth to mouth, necessarily underwent certain changes and modifications from generation to generation. These varied versions often became in the course of time independent stories, if the changes became too essential and too great to look at them as mere variations of the same theme. This seems to explain the double story of J. (5) Ch. 26 bears all the marks of originality: (a) it is the briefest; (b) it is the simplest; (c) it contains nothing supernatural; (d) it has nothing *strange* in it; (e) there is no attempt at edification (or undeserved glorification of the patriarch).

4) It is also to be noted that vs. 26-33 are a duplicate of 21:22-32 (= E): (1) for points of *resemblance*, see under "Material," p. 263; (2) for points of *difference*, see "Material" on p. 263-4. But in addition, the following points may be mentioned: (3) in ch. 26, Isaac receives his would-be allies very coldly at first, and hints that they have not treated him well; while Abraham is very ready to make a treaty; (4) with Isaac, they remain over night; (5) Abraham gives Abimelech seven sheep; (6) the first two points, viz., the names of the king and chief commander, being the same, and the different *origin* assigned to *Beer-sheba*, seem sufficient to make the stories come from different authors. But add to these the minor points of difference enumerated above, and note the fact that the *first* story uses אלהים, while the second has יהוה, and the case becomes still more clear.

C. The Element of E (or better, JE).

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

25:1-4[6 = R] (Well.,(?) Bud., Kuen., Del., Kitt., agree in assigning 1-6 to J.; K. and S., 1-5 = J, 6 = R); 25:25*,27* [fragments] (Well., 24sq.(?); Bud., Kuen., K. and S., no trace of E in 25; Del., J or E.; Kitt., 27sq. = E and J *in common*; 25,26a = E); 26:1*,2*,6 (Well., Kuen., Kitt., K. and S., no trace of E.; Del., traces in 26,32a); 27:1-45 in part [especially 21-23,30b,33sq.; 44b = 45a^{as}, one of which = E] (Well., 1,18,21-24,28,30b,35-38 = E; so Kuen., Del.; Kitt., 1b,4,11,13, 15 partly, 18,21-23,28,30b,33b,34,42; K. and S., 1b beginning ויאמר (הגדול), 4b,11-13,16,18b beginning with אבי, 19,21-23,28a,29a,30a,33,34,39b,44).

2. SYNOPSIS* OF CHAPTER 27.†

"Isaac, being old and blind, calls his favorite son, Esau, and tells him to take some game and prepare it according to his taste, and in return he will give him his final blessing. Rebekah, overhearing the conversation, calls Jacob, her son,

* The synopsis here given takes no notice of its *composite* nature.

† The few other *doubtful* verses of E may well be disregarded, since they contain only the names of *Keturah's* children, which she bore to Abraham.

and informs him that Esau is about to receive the paternal blessing. She commands him to go to the flock and get two young kids, and she will prepare them for his father. He will take them in, and receive the blessing. Jacob objects that the blind father may *feel* him, and thus discover that he lacks the *hair* characteristic of Esau's skin, and, if thus caught, he will be cursed rather than blessed. His mother assures him that she will assume the responsibility of the curse, if he will only do as she bids him. He complies. (The remainder of the story may be passed over.) By this deception Jacob secures the patriarchal blessing; Esau is indignant and determines to kill Jacob. Rebekah sends him away to her brother in Haran, where he is to remain till Esau becomes calmer, when she will send for him."

[*Remark.* The language and style of ch. 27 were considered under J, since the prophetic writers are so similar in these respects as to make it impossible, in this case, to discern their elements, except in so far as "Material" is concerned.]

5. MATERIAL OF CHAPTER 27.

1) The *composite* character of this story is evident, because (1) יְהוָה occurs three times (vs. 7,20,27), אֱלֹהִים is found in 28. (2) Unnecessary, even *inexplicable*, repetition occurs: (a) vs. 18,19 tell of Isaac's asking Jacob, "Who art thou, my son?" and of Jacob's replying, "I am Esau, thy first-born;" (b) in vs. 21-23, Isaac, still incredulous, feels Jacob, and is satisfied that it is Esau, "*and so he blessed him.*" The whole matter, then, is *settled*. But in v. 24, Isaac asks again, "Art thou my son Esau?" and Jacob says "I am." Then in v. 26, Isaac says, "Draw near and kiss me, my son," and then he blesses him, saying, "The smell of my son is like the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed;" (c) in vs. 33, 34, Isaac tells Esau that somebody else got the blessing, and Esau cries bitterly and asks to be blessed also; in vs. 37,38, we have the same thing repeated: Isaac enumerates the blessings bestowed on Jacob, and says, "What now can I do for thee?" Esau replies, "*Bless me too, my father!*" and *lifts up his voice and cries*. These facts are sufficiently *similar* and at the same time different enough to warrant the conclusion that R has combined *two accounts*.

2) It is true on the other hand that it is not possible from these duplicate statements to make two *complete* and consistent stories. The introductory part (vs. 1-14) and the conclusion (vs. 41-45) are probably drawn from one of the sources, or else are so thoroughly combined, that their distinctive marks are obliterated.

3) This chapter, it must be confessed, furnishes a strong argument against the analysis not only because of the lack of agreement among the critics, but also because it is impossible to make out two accounts; but the case is not so bad if only the work of R is admitted. Similar work has often been found; yet here he seems to have treated his original materials more freely than usual.

XII. The Analysis of Gen. 28:10-33:17.

[*Subjects*: (1) Jacob's dream and vow; (2) his marriage with Leah and Rachel; (3) marriage with Bilhah and Zilpah; (4) birth of eleven sons and Dinah; (5) his share in the flocks of Laban; (6) trouble with Laban; (7) he elopes, is overtaken, makes a treaty; (8) his meeting with Esau.]

A. The Element of P.

1. VERSES.

29:24,29 (K. and S., also 28b); 30:4a,9b(?) (K. and S., give *both* to J); 31:18 (K. and S., first clause of 18 = E).

2. SYNOPSIS.

[The fact of Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel is *not* formally told; probably omitted by R, who gives the fuller prophetic account]. "...And Laban gave Zilpah to Leah, and Bilhah to Rachel, as servants. Bilhah is given by her mistress to Jacob; so also Zilpah by Leah. Then Jacob collects his possessions in order to go back to his father in Canaan."

3. LANGUAGE.*

OLD WORDS.

(1) רָכַשׁ.

(2) רָכַשׁ (twice).

(3) פָּרָן אֲרָם.

(4) אֲרָץ כָּנָען—all of them in 31:18.

4. STYLE.

Brief and broken as the material is, it still bears the imprint of P in that it is *verbose* and *repetitious*; e. g., (1) 29:24b adds nothing; (2) so 29:29b can be omitted without loss; (3) all that is needed of 31:18a is וַיִּנְהַג אֶת כָּל רֶכֶשׁוֹ, and the last two words of the verse might also be left out, so that only eight words out of twenty-one are necessary.

5. MATERIAL.

In this case, what is to be said may best be put in the form of *remarks*.

1) It is evident that we do not have three complete accounts of Jacob's sojourn in Laban's house; and yet, if there existed separate documents, each must have contained some account of Jacob's marriage with Leah and Rachel and with their servants. But

2) It must be remembered that whatever may have been the *modus operandi* of R, he never records a duplicate account of *simple* facts.† In this case, why should he narrate *three* times, in as many words, that Jacob married such and such women? It would be the height of absurdity to do this. He accordingly takes the fullest and most satisfactory account, which here happens to be from E.

* There being but *few* verses, and some of these *doubtful*, no *new* words are found, and but *four old* words.

† This will explain such an omission as the birth and naming of Esau and Jacob from P's story before 25:26b.

3) Yet 31:18 (the only verse which bears the undoubted stamp of P) not only can be omitted, since it is practically a duplicate of v. 21a, but is entirely out of keeping with the general tenor of the story. (1) *Four* expressions are unmistakably characteristic of P, being such as occur repeatedly in his material. (2) Its very repetitious character breaks in on the smooth, graceful style of the narrative as a whole. (3) After the prophetic writer has told us of Jacob's determination to return to his "native land" (v. 13), and that he was encouraged by his wives to obey the divine command, he would scarcely insert in 18b the utterly useless words "to come to Isaac his father, to the land of Canaan;" especially when the exciting episode about *teraphim* occurs in the next verse (19).

4) *As usual*, P knows nothing about family troubles: Jacob went to Paddan to get a wife; he returns after accomplishing his purpose, but not because of Laban's ill-treatment.

6. THEOLOGY.

The absence of the theological element is quite conspicuous: (1) The daily life of the patriarchs (with the exception of a few special and formal theophanies) is barren of all religious worship. (2) This is especially noticeable in the case of Jacob: he leaves home to seek for the wife who is to be the mother of Israel; he sojourns many years in the land from which Abram was by special command sent away; he marries according to the instruction of his parents, and begets the children who are to become the tribes of Israel;—still no sacrifice or offering is made to God for his providential care, not even a prayer is addressed to the Deity. (3) Nor does God, on his part, descend to take part or interest in human affairs; He gives no encouragement to Jacob as he leaves home, nor does he send any word to him to return.

B. The Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

28:10, 13-16, 19a, (21b), [19b, 21b = R] (Well. denies 10; 19b, 21b = R^a; Kuen., 13-16, 21b = R^a; 19b = R; Del., like Dill., exc. 10 = R; 21b = J; Kitt., like Dill., but makes also 11a = JE; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 10 = E); 29:2-15a, 26, 31-35 (So Kitt.; Well., only 26, 31-35 = J; Kuen. gives no analysis of 29 sq.; Del., like Dill., exc. 26; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 14b-15a = E); 30:3b, 4sq., 7sq., [4a, 9b = R?] 9-16, 20b, 22c, 24b [21 = R or J; 22a = P²(?)], 25-43 [exc. 26, 28 = E] (Well., 9-16, 20b, 24, 25-43 [exc. fragments in 25-30, and 32-34 = E, also perhaps 40a exc. the first three words, and **הַמִּקְלֹת . . . וַיַּחֲמוּ** in 39; **בִּשְׁקֵתוֹת . . . לִשְׁתוֹת** in 38 = gloss]; Kuen., no analysis; Del., no analysis of 1-24, but distinguished by name of Deity; 25-43 = J, with fragments from E; Kitt., 3b, 4sq., 7, 9-16, 20b, 24b, 25, 27, 29-43; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 5, 8, 26, 28 = E); 31:1, 3, 21 in part, 25, 27*, 46*, 48*-50 [46b, 48a = R from J elsewhere; 47 = gloss, or perhaps from E elsewhere] (Well., 1, 3, 25a, 27, 38-40, 46, 48a, 50* [**וַיַּעֲקֹב**] in 46, 47, 48b, 49 exc. **וְהַמִּצְפָּה**, 50 from **אֵין** on =

R]; Kuen., in practical agreement with Dill. and Well.; Del., 1-3, 25, traces in 26-28, 46, [47 = E], 48, 49 exc. והמצפה אשר אמר = R, 54; Kitt., 1, 3, 25, 27, 51sq. [exc. מצפה = gloss]; K. and S., substantially like Dill.); 32: 4-14a, 23 [33 = R] (Well., 4-9, 14a [10-13 = R^d], 23-33; so Kuen., exc. 23sq. not mentioned; Del., like Dill., but adds 2sq. (*sic* ?); Kitt., like Kuen., but omits 4; K. and S., like Dill., but adding 25-32); 33: 1-17 [exc. 4*, 5, 11a = E] (so practically all).

2. SYNOPSIS.

“ Jacob starts from Beer-sheba for Haran. Yahweh renews to him the promise of numerous descendants, and assures him of His constant presence. On awaking Jacob feels that Yahweh is in that place, and so he names it Beth-El.* He then notices flocks around a well, which is covered with a great stone requiring the strength of all the shepherds to move it. On learning that they are from Haran he inquires for Laban. He is told that Rachel will soon be there with her father's flocks. When she appears, Jacob removes the stone, waters her cattle, and introduces himself. Laban, hearing of his arrival, receives him cordially; but he must marry the older daughter before the younger can be given him. [So he marries them both.†] Yahweh, seeing that Leah is not so much loved as her sister, makes her fruitful, while Rachel remains childless. Leah gives birth to Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah. Rachel offers Bilhah to Jacob, and Dan and Naphtali are born. Then Leah gives Zilpah to Jacob, and Gad and Asher are born. Reuben finds some mandrakes, for which his mother secures Jacob's attentions for a night. . . . Zebulun is then born; [but God†] also opens Rachel's womb, and Joseph is born. Now Jacob's wish is to return home; but Laban desires him to stay. Jacob reminds his father-in-law of his faithful work as a shepherd, and that it is time to do something for himself and family. A bargain is finally made that Jacob shall remain as shepherd, and get such lambs as may be spotted. Laban removes all such sheep of the flocks left in Jacob's charge, and separates them from him by putting them in his son's care, at a distance of three days' journey. But by a trick Jacob succeeds in securing so many spotted lambs that he soon becomes rich. Laban's sons begin to murmur that Jacob is getting all their father's property. Yahweh advises Jacob to go back to his father's home, and so he steals away. But Laban overtakes him, and demands an explanation of his strange conduct. Matters are explained, and a stone-heap is erected as a witness between them. Jacob then sends messengers to Esau to greet him. They return with the announcement that Esau is coming with an army of four hundred men. Jacob is greatly frightened, and divides his camp in *two*, so that, if Esau destroys one, the other may escape. He then offers a fervent prayer reminding Yahweh of His promise of innumerable posterity. He rises in the night and takes his family

* Cf. P's version, 35: 6, 9-15.

† This has to be supplied from E.

across the Yabbok. He notices that Esau and his men are coming; he places each mother with her children separately, Rachel and Joseph in the safest position (*i. e.* hindermost), while he himself takes the most perilous station, going foremost. He approaches Esau in great humility, falling seven times on the ground; next the servants and their children do the same, also Leah and her little ones, and finally Joseph and Rachel. Esau is finally induced to receive the present sent him, and he offers to proceed together with Jacob. The latter refuses this and other favors; so that Esau returns to Seir, while Jacob goes to Succoth.”

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יְהוָה (28: 13, 16, 21; 29: 31, 32, 33, 35; 30: 24, 27, 30; 31: 3, 49; 32: 10).
 (2) ... נָצַב עַל (28: 13): cf. 18: 2.
 (3) ... נִבְרַךְ בִּ (28: 14).
 (4) אֲנֹכִי (28: 15, 16; 30: 3, 30; 32: 12).
 (5) לִקְרֹאת* (29: 13; 30: 16; 32: 7).
 (6) וְתֹהֵר (29: 32, 33, 34, 35; 30: 5, 7).
 (7) עֵתָּה (29: 34; 30: 30; 32: 5, 11).
 (8) הַפְּעַם (29: 34, 35).
 (9) עַל-כֵּן (29: 34, 35; 31: 48; 33: 10, 17).
 (10) נָא (30: 14, 27; 32: 12; 33: 10 twice, 14, 15).
 (11) מִצָּא חַן וְכוּ' (30: 27; 32: 6; 33: 8, 10, 15).
 (12) בְּגִל (30: 27).
 (13) מִקְנֶה (29: 7; 30: 29; 33: 17).
 (14) שִׁים, שִׁית (30: 36, 40, 41, 42; 31: 21; 32: 13; 33: 2).
 (15) מוֹלָדָת fatherland (31: 3; 32: 10).
 (16) עֹבֵר (= I) (32: 5, 11).
 (17) לוֹן (32: 14, 22).
 (18) נִשָּׂא עֲנִים (33: 1).
 (19) יָלַד (32: 23; 33: 1, 2, 6, 7, 13, 14).
 (20) לִמְחָ-זֶה (33: 15).
 (21) אָהֵל (31: 25).
 (22) אָחַר (as verb) (32: 5).

2) NEW WORDS.*

- (1) פִּרְיָן (28: 14; 30: 30, 43): cf. 38: 29; Ex. 1: 12.
 (2) אֲכֵן (28: 16): cf. Ex. 2: 14. Outside, only in poetry.

- (3) עֵרַר (29: 2 twice, 3, 8; 30: 40; 32: 17 twice, 20): nowhere else in Hex.

- (4) גָּלַל (29: 3, 8, 10): cf. 43: 18; Jos. 5: 9; 10: 18.
 (5) מֵאֵין (29: 4): cf. 42: 7; Num. 11: 13; Jos. 2: 4.
 (6) בֶּשֶׁר relative (29: 14): cf. 37: 27. Outside, rare. P = שָׂאֵר בֶּשֶׁר.
 (7) נָחַשׁ (30: 27): cf. 44: 5 twice; 15 twice; Num. 23: 23; 24: 1. But also Lev. 19: 26; Dt. 18: 10.
 (8) נָהַל (33: 14): cf. 47: 17; Ex. 15: 13.

3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.†

- (1) פָּצַל (30: 37 twice, 38): nowhere else.
 (2) מַחֲשֵׁף (30: 27).
 (3) קֶשֶׁר *be early* (30: 41, 42).
 (4) עֵטָף *be late* (30: 42 twice).
 (5) רִפְּקָה *being pressed* (33: 13).
 (6) חִבֵּק (29: 13; 33: 4): cf. 48: 10. Poetic (?).
 (7) פָּתַל (30: 8 twice): very rare.
 (8) רוֹדָאִים (30: 14 twice, 15 twice, 16).
 (9) נִקֵּב *name, express* (30: 28): rare.
 (10) רִהֲטִים (30: 38, 41): cf. Ex. 2: 16. Rare.
 (11) תָּקַע *put up a tent* (31: 25 twice): very rare.
 (12) צָפָה (31: 49): nowhere else but in poetry.
 (13) לָאֵט (33: 14): nowhere else in Hexateuch. Very rare.
 (14) וְכֵן לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה (29: 26): cf. 34: 7. Outside of Hexateuch only in 2 Sam. 13: 12.

4. STYLE.‡

It is characterized by—1) *Ease and smoothness*. (1) The transitions from one story to another, numerous as they are, are neither formal nor abrupt.§ (2) The

* Here JE words also are considered.

† The first five of this list are "Απαξ λεγόμενα, *i. e.*, they occur in no other connection, though in the connection where they appear they may be repeated.

‡ For the sake of brevity and compactness all that J and E have in common will be considered here. Special characteristics of E will be found in their proper place, p. 283.

§ This point needs no illustration.

various incidents are naturally, even logically, arranged; but there is no subordination of all to one central idea or purpose.* (3) While they all relate to important, if not critical, points in the patriarch's life, minor details are given due prominence.*

2) *Vivid description.* (1) *Conversational style*; e. g., (a) Yahweh with Jacob (28:13-15); (b) Jacob's solemn soliloquy (28:16,17 [= E]†); (c) Jacob's vow (28:20-22 [= E]); (d) Jacob and the shepherds (29:4-8); (e) Jacob's bargain for Rachel (29:15,18,19 [= E]); (f) Jacob and Laban, after the cheating (29:25-27); (g) Rachel and Jacob—first outburst (30:1b,2 [= E]); (h) Rachel and Leah, about the mandrakes (30:14b-16); (i) Jacob's business bargain with Laban (30:25b-34); (j) Jacob and his wives in the field (31:5-16 [= E]); (k) Laban's last quarrel with Jacob (31:26-32a,36-44 [= E]); (l) the treaty at Gilead (31:46-53a); (m) Jacob and his messengers (32:5-7,17b-21 [= E]); (n) Jacob's prayer (32:10-13); (o) Jacob and the angel (32:27-30 [= E]); (p) the two brothers meet again (33:5,8-15). (2) *Human nature depicted*; e. g., (a) Jacob vows to serve God, provided God will treat him well (28:20b-22 [= E]); (b) Laban's deception of Jacob in the case of Leah (29:23,26); (c) Rachel's impetuosity; Jacob's impatience (30:1,2 [= E]); (d) Leah makes the most of the mandrakes (30:15,16); (e) Jacob's contrivance (30:37-39,41); (f) the consultation in secret (31:4b), Jacob's presentation of the case to his wives, the women favor him of course (31:5-16 [all = E]); (g) the departure; the father's pursuit; blame and justification on both sides; finally, peace established;—a Shakspeare could not have made it more vivid! (h) brotherly reconciliation, how touching! (33:4 [= E]); (i) Jacob's way of refusing Esau's company, (33:13,15b).

3) *Poetic pictures and indications of time and season*; e. g., (1) Jacob's first night on the road (28:10-16); (2) pastoral environs of Haran (29:2-9); (3) Jacob's first meeting with Rachel (29:10-12); (4) the world of romance in the few words, "And the seven years seemed unto him a few days, because of the love he had to her!" (29:20b); (5) the contrast, when Jacob's flocks meet Esau's men; (6) Jacob's "night of agony" at the "pass of Yabbok" (?); (7) the several divisions of Jacob's family, one after another, bowing silently before Esau, till his compassion is stirred; (8) the embrace of the two brothers; (9) "the sun was set" (28:11 [= E]); (10) "in the evening" (29:23 [= E]); (11) "in the morning" (29:25 [= E]); (12) "in the days of wheat-harvest" (30:14); (13) "in the evening" (30:16); (14) "on the third day" (31:22 [= E]); (15) "in the morning" (32:1 [= E]); (16) "the day breaketh" (32:27 [= E]); (17) "the sun arose" (32:32 [= E]).

4) *Puns, or etymological derivations*; as (1) *Beth-el* = God's house (28:17 = E; 16,19 = J); (2) *ראה-בעני* = *ראובן* (29:32); (3) *שמעון* = *שמע* (29:33); (4)

* These points need no illustration.

† Any point or illustration, when referring exclusively to E, will be indicated thus: [= E].

לוי = ילוח (29:34); (5) יהודה = הודה (29:35); (6) דני = דני (30:6); (7) באשרי = אשר (30:13); (8) בגר = גר (30:11); (9) נפתלי = נפתלי (30:8); (10) יששכר = שכר (30:18); (11) זבלון = זבלני (30:20); (12) יוסף = אסף (30:23 = E), or = יסף (30:24 = J); (13) גלעד = גלעד (31:48); (14) מצפה = צפה (31:49); (15) מחנה = מחנים (32:3 = E); (16) פניאל = פני אלהים (32:31 = E); (17) סכות = סכת (33:17); (18) ישראל = שרה עם אלהים (32:28 = E).

5) *Anthropomorphisms*. (1) God appears frequently (28:13; 31:3). (2) Man is on familiar terms with his Creator, as seen in the fact that (a) Jacob promises service to God simply for services rendered by God to him (28:20-22 [= E]); (b) Yahweh distributes his blessings, as it were: Rachel, beautiful and beloved, is barren; while Leah, homely and disliked, is fruitful (29:31); (c) God comes to Laban to tell him not to maltreat Jacob. (3) Jacob fights and conquers an angel*(?) (32:25-28).

6) *Religious instruction*. (1) God watches over his children (28:13-15). (2) "Heaven's gate" is wherever a devout heart locates itself (28:17-18 [= E]). (3) The despised of man is often favored of God (29:31). (4) The righteous, while feeling that God's mercies are far above their deserts (32:11), are yet bold in prayer (32:12,13).

5. MATERIAL.

This will be considered under E.

6. THEOLOGY.

[Both J and E are here considered.]

1) *God's nearness to man*. We need not enlarge upon this. Cf. above, under "Style," 5) "anthropomorphism."

2) *Altars and religious worship* are as old as humanity: Jacob raises a pillar and pours libations upon it (28:18 [= E]), and offers a sacrifice (?) (31:54). (This may mean simply *killing for meat*; the expression, however, is most naturally interpreted of sacrifice.)

C. Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

28:11sq., 17-22 [19a (?) = JE; 19b, 21b = R] (Well., 10-12, 17sq., 20, 21a, 22; so Kuen., and K. and S.; Del., like Dill.; so Kitt., exc. omitting 19, 21b); 29:1, 15b-30 [exc. 24, 29 = P², and 26 = J] (Well., 1-30, exc. 24, [28b], 29 = P²(?), and 26 = J; Kuen., no analysis; Del., like Dill., except 1 = J; Kitt., like Dill.; K. and S., like Dill., exc. they add 14b, 15a, and give also 23b to P); 30:1-3a, 6, 8, 17-24, 26, 28 [exc.

* This is the ordinary view. It must be noted, however, that (1) no angel is mentioned, but אלהים twice (32:29, 31), and שׂא once (32:25); (2) the celestial combatant *could not* overcome his earthly antagonist except by striking a blow on the thigh; (3) he desired to leave at *daybreak*; (4) he concealed his name.

20b,22c,24b = J; 22a = P²; 21 = R or J; 32-34 = E "hardly;" (Well., 1-8 [exc. 3b and בְּלִהֵה שְׁפָתָה רָחֵל in 7 = R]; 17-24 [exc. 20b,24b = J; 21 = R], fragments in 25-30, and 32-34; Kuen., no analysis, but is guided by אֱלֹהִים, which gives 6,8,17sq.,20,22sq. = E, then 25-43; so Del., exc. 25-43 = J; with fragments of E; Kitt., practically like Dill.; K. and S., like Well., but add 26,28, like Dill.); 31:2,4-17,19sq.,21*,22-24,26,28-45*,47*,51-54 [exc. 10,12, יַעֲקֹב in 45; parts of 47,51-53 = R] (so Well., exc. adding 25b, and omitting 39-40; Kuen., practically like Well.; Del., 1-3 = J; 4-17,19-24 = E; 26-45 = E with parts of J; 47,50-53 = E; 54 = J; Kitt., 2,4-9,11,13-17,19-21,22-44 [exc. 25 and 27], 45 [exc. יַעֲקֹב], 46,48a,50,53; K. and S., like Dill., exc. 47 = R); 32:2sq., 4 partly, 14b-22,24-32,[33 = R] (Well. and Kuen., 2sq.,14b-22; Del., like Dill., exc. 2sq. he assigns *apparently* to J, and adds 33 to E; Kitt., like Dill., exc. 25b-32; K. and S., 1-3,14b-22,24); 33:4*,5,11a (so Well. and Kuen., but adding 8; Kitt., like Dill., except 5a; K. and S., 5 *last clause*, 11).

2. SYNOPSIS.

"On his way, Jacob puts up for the night in a certain place, where he dreams of steps reaching to heaven, on which God's angels go up and down. Jacob feels it must be a holy spot; and so in the morning he makes the stone upon which he rested his head in the night, a *pillar*, and pours out libations upon it. He names the place Beth-el; and vows that, if God will watch over him, he will establish His worship in this place and will give Him tithes of all his possessions. He then proceeds to the land of the sons of the east. [He comes to Laban*] and spends a month with him, at which time Laban proposes to pay him for his labor. Now Laban has two daughters; Leah, the elder, has weak eyes, but Rachel, the younger, is very beautiful. Jacob is in love with the latter, and offers seven years of labor for her hand. Laban is satisfied, but at the end of this time he substitutes Leah for Rachel. When Jacob discovers it in the morning, he demands Rachel. Laban agrees to give her also at the end of the week, provided Jacob will serve seven additional years. He does so; Rachel remaining the favorite. Rachel being childless, envies her fruitful sister, and feels that she must have children, or die. She gives her servant Bilhah to Jacob, and Dan and Naphtali are born. Leah gives birth to two more children, Issachar and Zebulun. Then God remembers Rachel, and gives her Joseph. Jacob now proposes to take his family and depart from Laban, but the latter wishes to retain him at any cost. They finally agree that Jacob shall have a share in the flocks. He sees, however, that Laban's attitude toward him has changed; he calls Rachel and Leah to him in the field, narrates to them all his grievances, and also that an angel has told him in a dream to go home. The women, naturally enough, join with him and encourage him to leave; he departs without

* This must be supplied from J.

telling Laban. In addition, Rachel steals her father's *teraphim*. He crosses the river and flees toward Mt. Gilead. On the third day, Laban learns of the departure, pursues with some friends, and on the seventh day overtakes Jacob at Mt. Gilead. But in a dream, God warns him not to treat Jacob unkindly.* Laban asks Jacob to explain why he led away his daughters like war-captives, and did not permit their father to bid them farewell; and, further, why he stole his (Laban's) gods. Jacob explains his sudden departure as due to his fear of Laban, and declares that the person in whose possession the gods shall be found, shall die. Though searched for, they are not found, because Rachel had put them in the camel's furniture and sat upon them. Laban failing to find them, Jacob blames him severely for his unjust suspicions, and reviews briefly all the past wrongs which he had endured. Laban proposes peace, and a heap of stones is raised up, which neither of them is ever to pass with evil purpose toward the other. They take an oath, and Jacob makes a sacrifice upon the mountain, and invites the company to a solemn feast. After spending the night here, Jacob proceeds on his way. Meeting a *host* of angels, he names the place *Mahanaim*. He then sends messengers and presents to Esau, instructing them to salute him and to tell him of his coming. During the night he sends all his household across the river, and, remaining alone, a man wrestles with him till morning; unable to overcome him, he dislocates Jacob's hip-bone. Hence Jacob becomes *Israel*; and the angel blesses him. Though lame, he goes forward to meet Esau. The meeting is a pleasant and affectionate one. Jacob introduces his family, and asks his brother to receive his present."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) לֹין (28:11; 31:54).
- (2) הַשֶּׁם בְּבֶקֶר (28:18; 32:1).
- (3) אֱלֹהִים (28:12, 17, 20, 21, 22; 30:2, 6, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23; 31:7, 9, 11, 16 twice, 24, 42, 50; 32:2, 3, 29, 31; 33:5, 11).
- (4) הִכָּה (29:21; 30:1).
- (5) רוֹן (30:6).
- (6) חֲרָה (30:2; 31:35, 36).
- (7) וַתֵּהֵר (30:17, 19, 23).
- (8) הַפְּעַם (30:20).
- (9) נָתַן (= permit) (31:7).
- (10) מִקְנָה (31:9, 18).
- (11) נִשְׂא עֲנִים (31:12; 33:5).
- (12) עֵתָה (31:13, 16, 28, 44).
- (13) אֲנֹכִי (28:20; 30:1, 2; 31:13, 33, 39).
- (14) מוֹלַדֶּת (= birthplace) (31:13).
- (15) אִמָּה (30:2; 31:33).

- (16) שִׁים (28:11, 18 twice, 22; 31:34, 37; 32:17).
- (17) אָהַל (31:33 five times, 34).
- (18) מִשֵּׁשׁ (31:34, 37).
- (19) הַשְּׁמֵר לָךְ (31:24, 29).
- (20) פָּן (31:24).
- (21) עֲבָדְךָ (= humble servant) (32:19, 21; 33:5).
- (22) גַּם + pers. pron. (33:19).
- (23) יָלַד (33:5 twice).
- (24) אִמָּשׁ (31:29, 42).
- (25) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (30:6).
- (26) עַל-כֵּן (30:6).
- (27) הוֹכִיחַ (31:37, 42).
- (28) כָּרַת בְּרִית (31:44).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) פָּגַע בְּ... (28:11; 32:2): cf. Num. 35:19, 21; Jos. 2:16; 19:11 twice, 22, 26, 27, 34; but also Jos. 16:7 = P.

* This is the meaning of 31:24b. Cf. v. 29, where he says, "I have the power to *ill-treat* you, but God said not to speak *good or evil*."

- (2) מָנַע (30:2): cf. Num. 22:16; 24:11.
 (3) תָּמוּל שְׁלוֹשׁ (31:2,5): cf. Ex. 4:10; 5:7,8, 14; 21:29,36; Jos. 3:4; 20:5. Also in Dt. twice.
 (4) הָתַל (31:7): cf. Ex. 8:29.
 (5) יָרָה throw (31:51): cf. Ex. 15:4; 19:13 twice; Num. 21:30.
 (6) חָנַן (33:5,11): cf. 43:29; Ex. 33:19 twice, etc.
- 3) RARE AND POETIC WORDS.
- (1) מֵרָאוּתָיו (28:11,18): nowhere else in Hex., and rare outside.
 (2) קָלָם (28:12).
 (3) מִשְׁכֶּרֶת (29:15; 31:7,41): rare.
 (4) רָמָה deceive (29:25): nowhere else in Hex. and poetic.
 (5) זָכַר (30:20 twice).
 (6) זָבַל (30:20).
 (7) כֹּנִיִּים (31:7,41): only here.
 (8) תִּרְפִּים (31:19,34,35): nowhere else in Hex., and rare outside.
- (9) הֶרְבִּיק overtake (31:23): very rare.
 (10) נָטַשׁ let, permit (31:28): nowhere else in this sense.
 (11) הִסְכִּיל (31:29): nowhere else in Hex., and rare.
 (12) אָל + יָד (31:29): rare.
 (13) נִכְסָף (31:30 twice): poetic.
 (14) כֹּר cushion (31:34).
 (15) חָפַשׁ (31:35): cf. 44:12. Poetic.
 (16) רָלַק pursue ardently (31:36).
 (17) רָחַל (31:38; 32:15): poetic.
 (18) חָרַב (31:40): nowhere else in Hex., and poetic.
 (19) קָרַח (31:40): nowhere else in Hex., and poetic.
 (20) אָבַק (32:25,26): ἄ. λεγ. as a verb.

4. STYLE.‡

Here may be added some of E's special characteristics, as seen, e. g., in

- 1) His use of *dreams* as a mode of God's revelation: (1) 28:12; (2) 31:10,11; (3) 31:24.
 2) *The frequency of the appearance of angels to men*: (1) 28:12; (2) 31:11; (3) 32:2; (4) 32:25sq.
 3) The mention of *strange gods* in patriarchal households, 31:19,24.

5. MATERIAL.

Though in this section J and E are interwoven, we note the following:

- 1) *Duplicates*. (1) Jacob's vision in Bethel [E = 28:12; J = 28:13-15]; (2) v. 17 [= E] is parallel to v. 16 [= J], and is a *clumsy* addition which one writer would not make; (3) 31:51-53 is an inexplicable repetition of 31:48-50; (4) v. 24, in ch. 32, is unnecessary, to say the least, after v. 23; (5) both tell of some arrangements between Jacob and Laban about *wages* [J = 30:31-34; E = 31:7,8]; (6) there is some dissatisfaction with Jacob's gain [J = 31:1; E = 31:2,5]; (7) both relate an attempt on Jacob's part to reconcile Esau [J = 32:4-6; E = 32:14b-21].
- 2) *Differences*. (1) E, as usual, calls the vision a *dream*; J, while representing it in the night and in sleep (v. 16), speaks of it as a real theophany. (2) In E the principal feature is the *angels*, ascending and descending; in J it is Yahweh's promise. (3) The Ephraimite, naturally enough, makes the most of Jacob's consecrating Bethel, and regarding it as *God's house* (vs. 17,22); J, on the

* "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

† "Ἀπ. λεγ. in this sense.

‡ Cf. also *Style* under J., pp. 278-280.

other hand, represents the patriarch as almost surprised (note בְּנֵי in v. 16) to find Yahweh in that place, and so he simply names it Beth-el. (4) According to J, *Jacob asks* for the "spotted and dotted, etc." at one time, and Laban freely grants it [30:31-34]; according to E, Laban offers one after the other to get the better of Jacob [31:7,8]. (5) J consistently makes Laban's sons murmur against Jacob [31:1]; but E makes Laban himself act meanly [31:2,5,43]. (6) According to J, Esau answers Jacob's messengers with an army; from E it would appear that he (= Esau) came for the purpose of reconciliation as requested by Jacob [cf. 32:7 and 33:1-3 (= J) with 33:4 (= E)]. (7) To all these must be added the difference in the name of the Deity.

3) *Inconsistencies*. Jacob's extraordinary anxiety about the encounter with Esau as depicted by J [32:8-13], is incompatible with E's account of his power and courage in combating a heavenly being [32:25-29]. True, Esau came with 400 men, but Jacob also had numerous slaves [30:43], and had people enough for two camps [32:8]. Besides, if naturally heroic, instead of dividing his forces that some might escape, he would have concentrated them that he might resist.*

4) *Omissions*. That there are such is evident. They can be classified as follows: (1) *Such statements of fact* as (a) Jacob's marriage; (b) the birth of his children; (c) motive and mode of Jacob's flight,—all these are, strictly speaking, told but once. But we must remember (a) that both prophets are very likely in such matters to agree, at least substantially, and (b) that R could not fail to see the identity of such stories (the case being quite different with the stories concerning Sarah and Rebekah, as sisters), and so he joined them together; leaving, however, the variations in a rather unsatisfactory form. This will also account for (2) the omission of connecting words and phrases which the analysis naturally brings to light.

5) *Remarks*. (1) The individual variations of critics, touching this section, many and arbitrary as they may be, are due to special considerations. They are unanimous as to the existence of an analysis. (2) This section, it is universally admitted, is very unsatisfactory: (a) the duplicates and differences relate wholly to details, not to general narratives; while (b) the omissions are many and important. (3) If it were necessary to rely wholly on this section, no critic would claim an analysis. But when (a) the preceding material, (b) the material which follows, and (c) the *legal* argument (not touched upon as yet, but to be discussed later on) show the existence of an analysis, the facts enumerated above concerning this material fall into line without difficulty. (4) Whatever difficulty may attend the separation of J and E, the writer P, as opposed to both of them, is always distinct and decisive.

* The massacre of *Shechem* [ch. 34 = J] is in full accord with J's presentation here: Jacob's family do not dare an open fight, but entrap the simple natives by a device (34:13); moreover, when Simeon and Levi accomplish the slaughter, Jacob is afraid lest surrounding tribes attack and destroy him.

6. THEOLOGY.

For special presentations of E, see "Style," p. 283.

Remark. The argument from "Theology" has been referred to under J's matter, p. 280.

XIII. The Analysis of Gen. 33:18-37:1.

[*Subjects:* (1) Jacob's arrival in Shechem; (2) Dinah outraged and avenged; (3) Jacob revisits Bethel; (4) God's covenant with Jacob; (5) Rachel's death and Benjamin's birth; (6) the *toledoth* of Esau.]

A. Element of P.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:18* [Del., gives 19 to P; K. and S., 18b = E]; 34:1a,2a, 4,6,8-10,15-17,20-24... (13sq., 18,25,27-29, and טמא in v. 5 = R) [So Kitt., Well., 1a,2,4-6,7*,8-10,13-18,20-24,27-29 = X; Del. gives the *same* to R; Kuen., 1 and 2 in part, 4-6, 8-10,13 and 14 in part, 15-17,20-24,25 partly, 27-29 = R; K. and S., like Dill., but adding וַיֹּאכֶל אֶת הַנֶּעֱרָה in v. 3, and vs. 13,14,18,25 in part]; 35:6a,9-15 (except עֹר in 9 = R), 16 partly, 19 in part, 22b (beginning וַיְהִי)—29 [all critics deny anything of 16,19 to P, and all but K. and S., anything in 6 also; otherwise *all* like Dill.; K. and S. give 14 to R, and 13b = gloss]; 36:2a,5b,6-8 (1,2b-5a = R, based on J(?) and P²) [Bud., 1-5 = R based on P²; so K. and S.; Well., 1-5 = unknown source; Kuen., P² was superseded perhaps by 1-5,9-19; Del., 1 = P², 2-5 = R. Otherwise, *all* like Dill.]; 37:1 [so *all*].

2. SYNOPSIS.

"And Jacob, on his way from Paddan-aram, stops at Shechem. Dinah is seen by Shechem, the son of Hamor, the prince of the land; and he asks his father to get her for him as a wife. Hamor accordingly makes a proposition of intermarriage and commerce to Jacob's family. It is accepted on condition that the prince and his subjects be circumcised, which is complied with.* Then Jacob goes to Luz in Canaan, where God appears to him, changes his name to Israel, and renews his promise of numerous descendants; (and Jacob raises a pillar and pours libations upon it(?))†, naming it Beth-el. As they proceed further, Rachel dies on the road." Then comes an enumeration of Jacob's twelve sons. "He arrives home. Then Isaac dies and is buried by Esau and Jacob. Esau, whose genealogy is here formally given, goes to Seir, because the land is not enough for him and his brother, while Jacob remains in Canaan, his father's dwelling-place."

* "What became of Dinah?" the interested reader will ask. But that is beyond P's scope. *Circumcision* is all he wished to emphasize. It must be further remembered that, outside of this chapter, we know nothing about Jacob's daughter.

† A pillar and libations are hardly consistent with P; but cf. Dill., *Gen.*, 5th ed., pp. 371-372.

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) ארץ כנען (33:18; 35:6; 36:6; 37:1).
- (2) פרץ ארם (33:18; 35:9,26).
- (3) כל זכר (34:15,22,24).
- (4) אלהים (35:9,10,11,13,15).
- (5) קרית ארבע (35:27).
- (6) גויע (35:29).
- (7) האסף אל עמיו (35:29).
- (8) ואלה תלדות (36:1,9).
- (9) נפש *slave* (36:6).
- (10) רכש (verb and noun) (36:6,7).
- (11) אל שרי (35:11).
- (12) פרה ורבה (35:11).

(13) זרעך אחרוך (35:12).

(14) ערלה (34:14).

(15) מול (34:15,17,22 twice, 24).

2) NEW WORDS.

There are none that are characteristic of P. It is worthy of note that this writer has already practically exhausted his historic vocabulary. The chapter contains one very rare word, אֹת (34:15,22,23), found outside of this chapter only in 2 Kgs. 12:9; and a few others that are rather prophetic, as חֶשֶׁק (34:8)*, and שָׁלֵם (33:18; 34:21), and רַחֲבַת יָדַיִם (34:21). Is it due to the influence of R?

4. STYLE.

It is—1) *Exact, explicit*. (1) "Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan," 33:18; (2) Jacob arrives in Shechem "when he came from Paddan-aram," 33:18 (we were just told of Jacob's departure for home, 31:18); (3) "Dinah, Leah's daughter, which she bare to Jacob," 34:1 (did Leah have any other husband?); (4) Jacob comes to Luz "which is in the land of Canaan," 35:6 (was there another Luz? or could Jacob come to it on his way to his father? This is simply *legal precision*); (5) "God appeared to Jacob again when he came from Paddan-aram," 35:9; (6) "These are the sons of Jacob which were born to him in Paddan-aram," 35:26; (7) "Kiryath-arba, that is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned," 35:27; (8) to guard us against making a mistake in counting Jacob's sons, we are told that they were twelve, 35:22b; (9) note also Isaac's age, 180 years, 35:28.

2) *Stereotyped*. (1) Most of the *above* examples, from a different point of view, illustrate also this feature. But add to them (2) המול כל זכר 34:15,22,24; (3) ואלה תלדות [ninth in the series] 36:1,9; (4) the account of Isaac's death, "He gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people," 35:29 [cf. 25:8,17].

3) *Verbose and repetitious*. (1) Some of the *above*, both under 1) and 2), illustrate this. But further (2) "the father of Shechem," in 34:6 is superfluous; (3) v. 9b adds nothing to 9a; i. e., *seven words* out of *nine* can be left out; (4) 35:13b is unnecessary in itself; (5) yet it is repeated in 14 and 15; (6) 35:26b adds nothing to 22b, which is in itself unnecessary; (7) only the first clause (*five words* out of *fifteen*) is required; (8) vs. 6 and 7 of 36 need only be read to show clearly their very full and repetitious character.

5. MATERIAL.

1) *Remarks*. (1) We have here one anomaly, and according to Dill., even *two*: (a) The introduction of the story about Dinah. But is it only a story about Dinah? Its real purpose is to show how *firmly rooted the rite of circumcision* has

* Dill. calls it characteristic of P.

become and how repugnant intermarriage with the Gentiles is in the hearts and minds of Jacob's family. Just like ch. 23 it has a *legal* purpose. (b) The pillar and sacrifice by a patriarch, which is a theological incongruity for P, therefore most critics assign it to R; but Dill. explains it as a fact so firm in the tradition that even P was compelled to insert it. (2) P's material, though slightly altered by R, is still—as shown above by “language” and “style”—quite distinguishable; and, generally speaking, it accords well with his purpose. (3) The duplicates are quite *full*, only one important *missing* link occurring in ch. 34, where the circumcision scheme has to be supplied in J from P's account. But it is no more than natural that, having given it so fully in P, R, in combining the *two* stories, omitted one account. (4) As usual, R, in *reconciling* different versions of the same event, and blending them into one, leaves behind him traces of his work.

2) *Duplicates and differences.* Ch. 34 discloses, not only by its language and style, but also by the material itself, that it is a *combination*; e. g., (1) v. 6, Hamor coming to talk to Jacob is hardly in keeping with v. 5, Jacob's knowledge of the outrage; (2) nor does it go with v. 8, where Hamor speaks with *them* (not Jacob); (3) v. 7 does not fit in; if it were in its *proper* place, it would have some introductory clause, as עורם מרברים [cf. 27:5a,30 (*second clause*); 29:9; 24:15a, etc]; (4) vs. 8–10 have one proposition; (a) made by *Hamor*, (b) with no offer for any insult inflicted, (c) referring to intermarriage and commerce; while (5) vs. 11,12 have quite another proposition; here (a) Shechem speaks, (b) he asks for a *favor*, willing to give any dowry or gift (מָהָר, cf. Ex. 22:15,16), (c) he wants Dinah, without *any* reference to future alliances; (6) it is impossible that the writer of ch. 17, who made circumcision the holiest institution of pre-Mosaic times, should make the patriarch himself use it here for such an immoral purpose; hence, v. 13 cannot be from the same pen with vs. 14–17; (7) after v. 25b, 26a is meaningless; for surely, if they slew every male, they killed the offender and his father; and (8) strangely enough, when we put these opposing parts together, we get *two* different presentations, each throughout consistent with P and J *respectively*: P does not know about *difficulties* in patriarchal affairs, and holds circumcision in great sacredness; while J knows little or nothing about circumcision as a rite, and is full of romantic adventures in the lives of the patriarchs. Still further, (9) 35:9–15 (*except* 14?) is but a different presentation of 32:25–28 + 28:11–19; in other words, the story here is based on three different traditions: (a) E's strange incident which ended in Jacob's receiving the name Israel; (b) J's renewal of God's promise to Jacob; (c) the theophany at Luz which gave it the name of Beth-el, from JE; but (10) note that the narrative here is very different in its details; since (a) it *all* happens on Jacob's return from Paddan-aram; (b) there are no angels, either to dream of or to fight with; (c) no significance is attached to the new name of Jacob; (d) the promise here is almost copied from ch. 17, while that of 28:13,14 resembles closely 13:14,15. (11) The story here

certainly does not presuppose the former stories. (a) Did Jacob name Bethel twice? (b) did God change Jacob's name twice? What necessity for such action? How is it that they do not refer, at least, to the first occasions?

3) *Ill-fitting juxtapositions*: (1) We have pointed out some of these in ch. 34, where the *verses* do not follow consecutively. But (2) ch. 35 is by far more remarkable in this respect: (a) if *all* of ch. 35 is from *one* writer (whether Moses or some one else), the theophany of vs. 9-15 is a mere continuation of vs. 1-7; then v. 8 becomes out of place,* while vs. 14,15 become a mere repetition of v. 7. (3) Could there be anything more strange than to place vs. 22b-26 after 22a? (4) In the case of ch. 36, the disorderly arrangement of material is very conspicuous: (a) vs. 2,3 enumerate *three* wives, thus, Adah, Aholibamah and Basemath, the *order* (though not the names) corresponding with 26:34 and 28:9, Ishmael's daughter being the *last*. But in v. 10, the sons of *Adah and Basemath* are confusedly considered together, while Aholibamah's offspring come only in v. 14; and this new order is persisted in through vs. 15-19; (b) v. 8b is as harsh a repetition of v. 1 as could be inserted in this place; (c) v. 10b is an inconvenient combination; we should expect the last clause to come after the first clause of v. 13; (d) vs. 15-18 are evidently a confused (see below under inconsistencies) repetition of 11-14, adding nothing but אֱלֹהֵי to each name; but in former genealogies (cf. ch. 10) it is assumed that each name is the head-of-family, without going over the ground; (e) vs. 40-43 should most naturally come after v. 30, while 31-39, the successions of kings, should come last of all, since it reaches down to a later date historically; (f) what is to be said of the presence of vs. 31-39 themselves? Could Moses possibly have written them? Does not v. 31 clearly show that it was written at least after the time of Saul or David?

4) *Inconsistencies*. (1) 35:10 declares Jacob's *new name* to have been given him in *Bethel*; 32:28, at *Peniel*. (2) Jacob names Bethel, according to 35:15 when coming *from* Mesopotamia; according to 28:19—when going *to* it. (3) According to 35:23-26, *Benjamin* (like all the other children) was born *in Paddan-aram*; according to 35:16-18, his birth took place *on the way* near *Ephrath*. (4) 35:27-29 makes Isaac still alive on Jacob's return from Mesopotamia; while 27:1,2,4,7,10 emphasizes his being on his death-bed when Jacob left home, at least twenty-five years earlier.† (5) But Isaac's age is troublesome in another direction; viz., Isaac was sixty, when the twins were born (25:26); he was then *scarcely* over 100 when Esau married (26:34); but this marriage, according to 26:35, 27:46, and 28:1-9, was the occasion *in connection* with which Jacob left home. But

* The Massorites felt it, and put a פְּתוּחָה after it.

† The calculation is a simple one: seven years service, before marrying Leah (29:20-25); Leah gives birth to *six* sons and *one* daughter before Joseph's birth (29:31-30:22) which would at least require *ten* years; hence at Joseph's birth, Jacob was at least *eighteen* years away from home. On leaving Laban, moreover, 31:41 tells us, he was *twenty* years with Laban. When meeting Esau, Joseph is old enough to understand the situation (he bows to Esau), in fact going *before* Rachel, being at least *ten* years old.

Isaac lived 180 (35:28). In other words, (a) Isaac was but past middle life when Jacob left; why, then, consider him near death? (b) Jacob was away from home, according to these figures, about 80 years; but where was he for sixty years, after leaving Laban? and how could Joseph be but seventeen years (37:2a) after Isaac's death, if born while Jacob was still with Laban? P's figures do not seem to go with the prophetic stories. (6) How many wives did *Esau* have, and what were *their names*? [26:34 and 28:9, cf. 36:1-2, etc.] (7) According to 36:6-8, the separation of Esau and Jacob takes place as follows: after Isaac's death; for lack of room; Esau leaving Jacob to go to Seir; but according to 27:41-44, it is *before* Isaac's death; because of Esau's hatred, or Jacob's deceit; Jacob departing from Esau to go to Haran. (8) 32:4 says that Esau was already in Seir before Jacob reached home; but 36:8 locates him in Seir only after Isaac's death, i. e., after Jacob's return home. Can these difficulties be more easily explained upon the supposition of a single writer, than of at least two?

6. THEOLOGY.

1) P relates the transaction at Shechem only (1) to glorify circumcision, showing how firmly Jacob's family insisted upon it; (2) to exemplify the aversion of the patriarch for intermarriage with *Canaanites* (in the *broad* sense).

2) God's appearance to Jacob is, *as usual*, formal and distant.

3) 35:13-14 are probably R's attempt to harmonize (?) P with JE, or (with Dill.) they are the only exception to the absence of sacrifice in pre-Mosaic times.

B. Element of J.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:18b; (18a = P²) [no other critic gives it to J. K. and S. = E; Well, 19* = J]; 34:2b,3,5,7,11-13,19,25*,26,30sq. (1a,2a,4,6,8-10,15,(14)-17,20-24 = P²) [Well., Kuen., 3,7 in part,11sq.,19,25sq.,30sq. (as to the rest of the chapter, Well. knows nothing except that it is *not* P²; Kuen. gives quite a portion to R, see *HEBRAICA*, July, '88, p. 238, note 101); Del., like Dill., except 13 = E (27,29 = E, rest of the chapter = P²); Kitt., like Dill., *adding* 1b,14; K. and S., 1b,2b,3 (except וַיֹּאמֶר אֵת הַנְּעִרָה), 5,7,11sq.,19, a few words in 25,26 (except first *two* words), 30sq.]; 35:21(?) (21(?),22a = R) [Well., *no J* in 35; Kuen., 22a(?); 21sq. = R; Del., 16-20, 21sq. = R; Kitt., 21sq.; K. and S., 16-22 = JE]; 36:2sq.,10,13,16-18,20-28(?) (these parts of 36 removed by R from before 32:4; 1,2a(?) and other portions of 36 = R) [Well, 31-39 = J or E, the rest of the chapter = R, except 6-8,40-43 = P²; Kuen., greater portion of 36 *doubtful*; Del., 2-5 = R; Kitt., basis of 1sq. possibly = J; K. and S., 31-39 = JE, the rest (outside of P portions) = R].

2. SYNOPSIS.

"....And he [= Shechem*] takes her [= Dinah*] and outrages her, loving her passionately. Jacob hears of the insult, but waits till his sons return from

* This must be supplied from other material.

the field. They receive the horrible tidings with mingled sorrow and anger, and when Shechem proposes to do whatever they will ask of him, if only they will let him have their sister, they demand of him deceitfully [that he and all the people be circumcised*]. He complies with all haste. Then Simeon and Levi fall upon the helpless city, slay all males in it, and rescue Dinah. Jacob fears a general uprising of the surrounding tribes; but his brave boys reply, 'Shall he then treat our sister as a harlot?' Then comes an account of Esau's wives and descendants, the enumeration of which may here be omitted.

3. THE LANGUAGE OF J.

1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) ... רבק (34:3): cf. 2:24.
- (2) מקנה (34:5): but also 36:6,7 = P.
- (3) חרה (34:7).
- (4) נא (34:8?): the verse is assigned to P.
- (5) מצא חן (34:11).
- (6) אהל (35:21).
- (7) עוצב (34:7).
- (8) במרמה (34:13): rare.
- (9) אחר (verb) (34:19).

2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) לפי חרב (34:26): cf. Ex. 17:13; Num. 21:24, and *multa* in Josh.
- (2) מִהָר (34:12): cf. Ex. 22:16. Rare.
- 3) Ὁ ἄπαξ λεγόμενον.
- (1) דבר על לב (34:3): nowhere else in Hex. But cf. Is. 40:2; Hos. 2:16.

4. STYLE.

[As usual, JE are considered together, as far as they agree.]

1) *Stories*. (1) The adventure at Shechem [P's account can scarcely be called a story]; (2) Deborah's death (35:8 = E?); (3) Rachel's sad death (= E); (4) Reuben's sin (35:22).

2) *Human nature depicted*. (1) Jacob keeps quiet till his sons return (34:5); (2) the brothers hear of their sister's shame with mingled feelings of sorrow and rage (34:7); (3) the craftiness of Jacob and his sons (34:13); (4) the haste of the lover's compliance (34:19); (5) ruthless revenge (34:25,26); (6) the manly reply of the young men (34:31).

3) *Puns*. (1) אֵלֹן בכות (= oak of weeping) 35:8; (2) בן-אֹנִי 35:18. [Both = E.]

5. MATERIAL.

See under P and under E.

6. THEOLOGY.

There is nothing special in J [cf. E].

C. Element of E.

1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

33:19sq.* [Well., 18*,20; 19* = J; Kuen., 18 partly, 19,20; Del., 20 (18sq. = P²); Kitt., 19sq., in part; K. and S., 18b-20]; 35:1-4,6b-8,16-19a,20 (6a = P²; הוא בית אל in 6, and הוא בית לחם in 19b, and vs. 21,22a = R) [Well., 1-8

* This must be supplied from other material.

(v. 2*), 16-20 (except 19b, 21, 22a = R ?); Kuen., 1-8 (except 5 = R), 16, 20; Del., 34: 13, 27-29; 35:1-8, 16-20 = J; 21sq. ?; Kitt., 1, 3, 7 (2 and 4 = E or R from P²), 16-20; K. and S., like Dill., except 16-22a = JE].

2. SYNOPSIS.

"Jacob purchases some land from Hamor, Shechem's father, where he pitches his tent and builds an altar. God bids him *re-visit* Bethel and worship Him there. Then Jacob orders his family to put away the *strange gods* which they have, and prepare themselves for the service of his God. They give him the idols and everything pertaining to their worship, and he buries all under an oak near by. He [goes*] with his entire household, and builds an altar in Bethel. Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, dies, and is buried in Allon-bachuth. On their way from Bethel to Ephrath, Rachel gives birth to Benjamin, and dies. Jacob raises a monument over her grave."

3. LANGUAGE.

1) OLD WORDS.

(1) אהל (33:19).

(2) מזבח (33:20; 35:1, 3, 7).

(3) אלהים (35:1, 5(?), 7).

(2) קשה (verb) (35:16, 17): cf. 49:7; Ex. 7:3; 13:15. Many times also in Dt.

3) RARE WORDS.

(1) חלקת השרה (33:19): nowhere else in Hex.

(2) כברת ארץ (35:16): cf. 48:7. Outside of

(1) טמן (35:4): cf. 43:23; Ex. 2:12; Jos. 2:6; Hex. only in 2 Kgs. 5:19.

7:22.

(3) קשיטה (33:19).

4. STYLE (see under J).

5. MATERIAL.

1) As contrasted with P, see pp. 287-288.

2) As compared with J, the following *remarks* will suffice: (1) the two writers do not come in contact or in conflict as far as this section is concerned; for J tells about Shechem; E, about the *other* incidents of the journey. (2) Each prophet is consistent with himself: (a) ch. 34 shows Jacob's timid nature as presented by J in 32:4-13 and 33:1-15; (b) on the other hand, 35:1-7, Jacob's *second* visit to Bethel, accords with the *vow* he made in 28:20-22.

6. THEOLGY OF E.

1) He uses the plural verb with אלהים, 35:7.

2) Tells of strange gods in Jacob's house, 35:2, 4.

3) Mentions *altars* among patriarchs, 33:20; 35:1, 7.

4) Worship at Bethel is *emphasized* by Jacob's second visit, 35:1-7.

N. B.—The paper to be published in the October HEBRAICA, will continue from this point in Genesis through the historical part of Exodus.

* This must be supplied from v. 5a.

➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.◀

SCHRADER'S "KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK."*

The series of Assyrian and Babylonian texts in transliteration and translation of which the first volume lies before us, is a most useful and most important undertaking. Its ostensible purpose is, according to the preface, to collect in a convenient form the important historical, mythological, and general literary material furnished by such cuneiform texts as have, up to the present, been published. It differs from the old series of the "Records of the Past," of which it naturally reminds us, and of which it is in a measure the successor, in two important particulars. First, a transliteration of all the texts accompanies the translation, by means of which the latter may be controlled, and it may also be seen upon what basis the translation rests; and secondly, the translations themselves are, in the main, reliable and accurate. In saying this I do not wish to deny that the English series served a very useful end in its days, though its utility was strongly overshadowed by the mischief it wrought in popularizing premature results that often turned out entirely erroneous; but those days of usefulness are long since past, and no better means of estimating the real advance that has been made in Assyriology during the past fifteen or twenty years, can be suggested than to compare the translations in the English with those in the new German series.

The present volume aims to cover the period of Assyrian history from the most ancient times down to the reign of Rammannirari III., at the close of the ninth century before our era. Starting with the short inscriptions of the early Assyrian kings, it passes on to the longer one of Rammannirari I., and gives in succession the cylinder of Tiglathpileser I., the annals and hunting inscription of Ašurnasirbal, the obelisk and monolith of Shalmaneser II., and the obelisk of Rammannirari III. In addition to this, there are shorter inscriptions of some of the above and of other kings, and the volume is brought to a close with the text of the synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia (completed so far as found), and a number of eponym lists.

The work has been parceled out among Drs. Winckler, Peiser, and Abel, Professor Schrader reserving for himself most of the short inscriptions. Con-

* SAMMLUNG VON ASSYRISCHEN UND BABYLONISCHEN TEXTEN IN UMSCHRIFT UND UEBERSETZUNG in Verbindung mit Dr. L. Abel, Dr. C. Bezold, Dr. P. Jensen, Dr. F. E. Peiser, Dr. H. Winckler, herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Bd. I. Berlin: Reuther. 1889. M.6.

cerning the latter there is little to be said. They are, as a matter of course, correct as far as they are understood; but we do not notice any important contributions to the still doubtful passages. Only in the inscription of Asurrišiši (p. 12) I would like to suggest that the *an-ni*, in the fifth line, probably forms the tail of some verb having the meaning "appoint" or "send." Passing on to the others, the palm of excellence, I think, must be awarded to the translation of the Ašurnāṣirbal inscriptions by Dr. Peiser. More especially does the difficult introduction to the annals appear to have been executed with great care, and there can be no question of the decided advance which Peiser's version marks over that of his scholarly predecessor, Heinrich Lhotzky. The same praise must be bestowed upon the translation of the monolith of Shalmaneser, though here, of course, Dr. Peiser had Craig's careful study to serve him as a guide. The chief difficulty in the case of the monolith lies in the bad state of the text. Craig has probably made the most out of it that is possible, and a superficial comparison of Peiser's text with Craig's does not reveal that the former has improved, in any important particular, upon the latter. On the other hand, Dr. Winckler's work does not present evidence of the same carefulness and accuracy. His work gives one the impression of having been somewhat hurriedly done, especially so in the case of the obelisk inscription of Shalmaneser. From the preface it is not clear whether this text belongs to the number that were copied anew from the original; but if Dr. Winckler did consult the famous monument in the British Museum, it is certain that he has not been very careful in his collation. While he corrects many of the errors in Layard's text, of which the most have already been noticed in Sayce's translation ("Records of the Past," V. pp. 29-42), he leaves others stand, and adds some of his own for which there is no excuse whatsoever. In another page of *HEBRAICA* I give a full list of corrections to Layard's text which forms the result of a careful collation of the latter with a cast of the Black Stone in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania, and I therefore content myself here with calling attention only to some of the points which Dr. Winckler has overlooked.

L. 36.—Winckler reads *ip-paršid*. The monument has the same reading here as l. 113, viz. *ip-luḥma*. At the very most, we may suppose that the sign *UT* is an error on the part of the scribe for *ZAB*; but there is nothing to warrant Winckler's reading.

In view of Mon. II. 45, 46, 47, we must evidently read *Su-uḥ-mi* in l. 42 of obelisk, and not *Su-uḥ-ni*, as Winckler does.

A glance too at Mon. II. 69, where we have distinctly *Ši-i-tam-rat*, preceded by the determinative for mountain, might have shown Winckler that we must read *Ši-tam-rat*, obel. 46; instead of which he proposes an impossible *šitamgi*, taking the word as a common noun, without attempting, however, to give a translation. Besides the monolith, we have a second parallel passage in

the Balawat inscription, col. III. 4, which removes any further doubt as to Šitam-rat being a proper name, though curiously enough, in the latter passage the determinative preceding is "city" instead of "mountain." This is perhaps an error on the part of the scribe. But the cast of the obelisk also shows unmistakable traces of "rat" at the end of the line.

In line 52 Winckler has omitted *ana šad*, and so, l. 46, he omits *abal A-di-ni*.

Line 75, he might have noted that there is a space before *malmališ*, where we must evidently insert "mat," which appears in the parallel passage Bal. IV. 1. His translation too, "sie hatten zu gleichen Theilen getheilt," though having the strong support of Delitzsch (*Assyr. Dict.*, p. 223), can hardly be correct. Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 201, seems to have hit the correct thing in rendering, "He [Marduk-belusate] had torn away the whole land."

The words "mat *Hatti*," l. 87, are not in the original, nor is there enough space at the end of the line for them, even if we suppose something wanting.

Line 99, the stone reads for the "18th" (not "19th") time, as Layard, and following him Menant and Sayce, do.

Line 108 the original reads *U-e-ta-aš*, and I cannot see the force of Winckler's emendation to *Ga-i-ta-aš*.

L. 114 should be *Si-ḫi-ša-la-aḫ*.

Again, l. 121, the word at the beginning is certainly not "tissi," for which Winckler naturally finds no translation. Careful examination has convinced me that the first character is "pi." As for the word "pissi" I confess that I cannot find an altogether satisfactory explanation. Some such meaning as "entrance" or "interior" seems to be demanded by the context. It is perhaps a synonym of the common "neribu." But however this may be, the reading is certain. Sayce translates "strongholds."

For *Tuulka* (l. 133) I feel almost certain that the original, defective at this point, has *Tu-ul-li*.

Line 129 the stone has *tiduku-šu* and *šal-la-su*, not *šunu*, as Winckler reads.

We might also mention such blunders as *Madahirai* for *Madaḫisâ* (l. 164), and the unpardonable *Ir-ki-ia* in No. III. of the Bas-relief inscriptions, instead of *Sa-ke-e-a* of the original, a correction to Layard already noted by Schrader (*KGF.* p. 272, note), Menant (*Annales*, p. 105), Sayce (*R. V.* p. 42), and Delitzsch, (*Par.* p. 123), and no doubt by others.

More such inaccuracies might be noted, but we will mention only one more. Line 175 begins very clearly with *ina pan*. Winckler's translation, "eilte ich zum zweiten Male" is out of the question. We feel sure that it was only undue haste which led him to overlook the ingenious hint thrown out by Sayce (*R. V.* p. 40) that the line contains an allusion to a celebration by Shalmaneser of the

completion of his thirty years reign. He marks his assumption of the office of *limnu* for a second time (see the eponym list p. 206, col. i) by some ceremonies in honor of the gods. Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 204, adopts the suggestion. As for the word which marks the ceremony, the most probable reading seems to me to be *bu-u-na*. The first two signs are certain, and of the last the first part can be seen. There is hardly room for a more complicated sign. For a suggestion with regard to *bûnu* see my notes to the inscription in the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

Passing on to the translation, there are also criticisms to be made. His rendering of *tamdi ulil* as "I made my weapons bright at the sea," is very unsatisfactory. The phrase clearly has reference to the king's hanging up his weapons at the seashore, much as the ancient Teutons hung their weapons on the mighty oaks of the forest as a trophy. In line 72 *e-te-bu* is the 3d person plural, not the singular. For line 93 he might have adduced the two parallel passages in the Bull inscriptions (Lay 16, 47, and 47, 29), where we have twice *Ka-a-pišunu*, of which *Kabi-ši-na* is evidently but a different spelling. The king placed his image on the "rocks," not in the "caves."

Line 106.—*Tu*..... cannot be part of a proper name. There appears to be nothing at all missing at the end of the line, and we must therefore either take the sign as an ideogram indicating some metal, or it is the phonetic complement, as Sayce would have it, to the preceding sign; so that we are to read *ana kišittu* "for the conquest of." Of course we should expect *kišitti*.

Instead of *rapšatê* (ll. 142, 149, 160, 176) the reading *gabšate* appears preferable (cf. T. P. VI. 1; *Sanh.*, Taylor, III. 43).

Turning to Winckler's translation of the cylinder of Tiglathpileser I., this is decidedly a better piece of work. In a number of important passages he improves upon Lotz's admirable work. But an equal number of difficult passages have escaped him also. His rendering of *mušêbru šini* as "welcher zerschmettert die Schuldigen" (col. i. 8) is quite impossible. I have before me the copy of Lotz's Tiglathpileser from the library of the late Stanislas Guyard. It contains on the margins some notes in the handwriting of the lamented savant, and for this phrase he makes the correct suggestion "qui garde les bons ou les surveille," that is, who protects or watches over the good, the contrast being *za-al-pat ai-bi*, which Guyard translates "qui decouvre les mesfaits des ennemis." He evidently takes *mušêbru* as a *šafel* of *baru* to look, and I see that Allen, in his additions and corrections to Lotz's T. P. (PAOS., Oct., '88, p. civ), does the same. For col. i. 37, *ušaḫilu*, Guyard makes the suggestion "sharpened," which is preferable to Winckler's "klirren liess."

"Umwallungen," col. III. 49, as a rendering of *labani* will hardly meet with favor. On the other hand, his translation of col. II. 27 is excellent, though he is indebted to Dr. Peiser for the suggestion which throws light on the obscu-

rity. So also must his improved renderings of col. II. 45, col. VI. 57, and other passages, be commended. But on col. III. 104-5, "im ersten Drittel des Tages wo die Sonne aufgeht" is, to say the least, obscure. "From sunrise" is the sense of the passage. For col. II. 9 see Halevy, ZK. I. p. 262, who takes *hûla* as an adjective from a stem *חול bad*, and translates "the bad [road] I repaired." This strikes me as far preferable to "Wuestniss," adopted by Winckler.

If space permitted more points might be noticed. But on the whole the translation of the Tiglathpileser inscription must be declared satisfactory, though not final. For some further suggestions, I may refer to Allen's article above quoted, whose proposed reading *zer šangútišu* for the mysterious *zirritišu* is especially to be noted. I might add that Guyard, in a note to col. VII. 73 and VIII. 36, already suggests *šanguti* though overlooking it in col. I. 25 and VIII. 34.

The typographical errors are few and insignificant. In a number of cases we note *i* for *í*, and *vice versa*; but in general the whole work is a model of accuracy. As a great advantage of the translations it must be accounted that they are almost literal, even to the point of sounding at times harsh. There is no attempt made at fine phraseology. Considering too that the work is prepared by different scholars, there is as much unanimity in the conception and rendering of phrases and titles as could be expected. The series is intended to cover four volumes.

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